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ERRATA IN THIS AND PRECEDING NUMBER.

p. 4. l. 20. from bottom, for *passage* read *passages.*
p. 251. ſhould all be inverted commas as quotation, from line 15. from bottom to the end, except line 7. from bottom.
p. 259. l. 9. from bottom, for *well* read *ill.*
p. 283. l. 3. from bottom, for *their* read *that.*
p. 285. l. 9. for *views* read *wars.*
p. 299. l. 18. for *gendered* read *engendered.*
p. 300. l. laſt, for *Lords and Commons*, read *King and Lords.*
p. 340. l. 10. from bottom (but only in a very few copies) *for* But let us attend—*read* But, inſtead of truſting to the teſtimony of theſe ſuſpicious witneſſes, let us attend, &c.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1809.

No. XXVII.

ART. I. *Gertrude of Wyoming, a Pennsylvanian Tale: and other Poems.* By Thomas Campbell, Author of "The Pleasures of Hope," &c. 4to. pp. 136. London. 1809.

WE rejoice once more to see a polished and pathetic poem, in the old style of English pathos and poetry. This is of the pitch of the Castle of Indolence, and the finer parts of Spencer; with more feeling, in many places, than the first, and more condensation and diligent finishing than the latter. If the true tone of nature be not everywhere maintained, it gives place, at least, to art only, and not to affectation—and, least of all, to affectation of singularity or rudeness.

Beautiful as the greater part of this volume is, the public taste, we are afraid, has of late been too much accustomed to beauties of a more obtrusive and glaring kind, to be fully sensible of its merit. Without supposing that this taste has been in any great degree vitiated, or even imposed upon, by the babyism or the antiquarianism which have lately been versified for its improvement, we may be allowed to suspect, that it has been somewhat dazzled by the splendour, and bustle and variety of the most popular of our recent poems; and that the more modest colouring of truth and nature may, at this moment, seem somewhat cold and feeble. We have endeavoured, on former occasions, to do justice to the force and originality of some of these brilliant productions, as well as to the genius (fitted for much higher things) of their authors—and have little doubt of being soon called upon for a renewed tribute of applause. But we cannot help saying, in the mean time, that the work before us belongs to a class which comes nearer to our conception of pure and perfect poetry. Such productions do not, indeed, strike so strong a blow as the vehement effusions of our modern *Trouveurs;* but they are calculated, we think, to please more deeply, and to call out more permanently, those trains

of emotion, in which the delight of poetry will probably be found to consist. They may not be so loudly nor so universally applauded; but their fame will probably endure longer, and they will be oftener recalled to mingle with the reveries of solitary leisure, or the consolations of real sorrow.

There is a sort of poetry, no doubt, as there is a sort of flowers, which can bear the broad sun and the ruffling winds of the world,—which thrive under the hands and eyes of indiscriminating multitudes, and please as much in hot and crowded saloons, as in their own sheltered repositories; but the finer and the purer sorts blossom only in the shade, and never give out their sweets but to those who seek them amid the quiet and seclusion of the scenes which gave them birth. There are torrents and cascades which attract the admiration of tittering parties, and of which even the busy must turn aside to catch a transient glance; but 'the haunted stream' steals through a still and a solitary landscape; and its beauties are never revealed, but to him who strays, in calm contemplation, by its course, and follows its wanderings with undistracted and unimpatient admiration. There is a reason, too, for all this, which may be made more plain than by metaphors.

The highest delight which poetry produces, does not arise from the mere passive perception of the images or sentiments which it presents to the mind, but from the excitement which is given to its own eternal activity, and the character which is impressed on the train of its spontaneous conceptions. Even the dullest reader generally sees more than is directly presented to him by the poet; but a lover of poetry always sees infinitely more; and is often indebted to his author for little more than an impulse, or the key-note of a melody, which his fancy makes out for itself. Thus, the effect of poetry depends more on the *fruitfulness* of the impressions to which it gives rise, than on their own individual force or novelty; and the writers who possess the greatest powers of fascination, are not those who present us with the greatest number of lively images or lofty sentiments, but who most successfully impart their own impulse to the current of our thoughts and feelings, and give the colour of their brighter conceptions to those which they excite in us. Now, upon a little consideration, it will probably appear, that the dazzling, and the busy and marvellous scenes which constitute the whole charm of some poems, are not so well calculated to produce this effect, as those more intelligible delineations which are borrowed from ordinary life, and coloured from familiar affections. The object is, to awaken in our minds a train of kindred emotions, and to excite our imaginations to work out for themselves a tissue of pleasing or impressive conceptions. But it seems obvious, that this is more likely to be accomplished by surrounding us gradually with those

thoſe objects, and involving us in thoſe ſituations with which we have long been accuſtomed to aſſociate the feelings of the poet,—than by ſtartling us with ſome tale of wonder, or attempting to engage our affections for perſonages, of whoſe character and condition we are little able to form any conception. Theſe, indeed, are more ſure than the other to produce a momentary ſenſation, by the novelty and exaggeration with which they are commonly attended; but their power is ſpent at the firſt impulſe: they do not ſtrike root and germinate in the mind, like the ſeeds of its native feelings; nor propagate throughout the imagination that long ſeries of delightful movements, which is only excited when the ſong of the poet is the echo of our familiar feelings.

It appears to us, therefore, that by far the most powerful and enchanting poetry is that which depends for its effect upon the just representation of common feelings and common situations, and not on the strangeness of its incidents, or the novelty or exotic splendour of its scenes and characters. The difficulty is, no doubt, to give the requisite force, elegance and dignity to these ordinary subjects, and to win a way for them to the heart, by that true and concise expression of natural emotion, which is among the rarest gifts of inspiration. To accomplish this, the poet must do much; and the reader something. The one must practise enchantment, and the other submit to it. The one must purify his conceptions from all that is low or artificial, and the other must lend himself gently to the impression, and refrain from disturbing it by any movement of worldly vanity, derision or hardheartedness. In an advanced state of society, the expression of simple emotion is so obstructed by ceremony, or so distorted by affectation, that though the sentiment itself be still familiar to the greater part of mankind, the verbal representation of it is a task of the utmost difficulty. One set of writers, accordingly, finding the whole language of men and women too sophisticated for this purpose, have been obliged to go to the nursery for a more suitable phraseology; another has adopted the style of courtly Arcadians; and a third, that of mere Bedlamites. So much more difficult is it to express natural feelings, than to narrate battles, or describe prodigies!

But even when the poet has done his part, there are many causes which may obstruct his immediate popularity. In the first place, it requires a certain degree of sensibility to perceive his merit. There are thousands of people who can admire a florid description, or be amused with a wonderful story, to whom a pathetic poem is quite unintelligible. In the second place, it requires a certain degree of leisure and tranquillity. A picturesque stanza may be well enough relished while the reader is get-

ting his hair combed; but a scene of tenderness or emotion will not do for the corner of a crowded drawingroom. Finally, it requires a certain degree of courage to proclaim the merits of such a writer. Those who feel the most deeply, are most given to disguise their feelings; and derision is never so agonizing as when it pounces on the wanderings of misguided sensibility. Considering the habits of the age in which we live, therefore, and the fashion, which, though not immutable, has for some time run steadily in an opposite direction, we should not be much surprised if a poem, whose chief merit consisted in its pathos, and in the softness and exquisite tenderness of its representations of domestic life and romantic seclusion, should meet with less encouragement than it deserves. If the volume before us were the work of an unknown writer, indeed, we should feel no little apprehension about its success; but Mr Campbell's name has power, we are persuaded, to insure a very partial and a very general attention to whatever it accompanies, and, we would fain hope, influence enough to reclaim the public taste to a juster standard of excellence. The success of his former work, indeed, goes far to remove our anxiety for the fortune of this. It contained, perhaps, more brilliant and bold passages than are to be found in the poem before us; but it was inferior, we think, in softness and beauty; and, being necessarily of a more desultory and didactic character, had far less pathos and interest than this very simple tale. Those who admired the Pleasures of Hope for the passage about Brama and Kosciusko, may perhaps be somewhat disappointed with the gentler tone of Gertrude; but those who loved that charming work for its pictures of infancy and of maternal and connubial love, may read on here with the assurance of a still higher gratification.

The story is of very little consequence in a poem of this description; and it is here, as we have just hinted, extremely short and simple. Albert, an English gentleman of high character and accomplishment, had emigrated to Pensylvania about the year 1740, and occupied himself, after his wife's death, in doing good to his neighbours, and in educating his infant and only child, Gertrude. He had fixed himself in the pleasant township of Wyoming, on the banks of the Susquehana; a situation which at that time might have passed for an earthly paradise, with very little aid from poetical embellishment. The beauty and fertility of the country,—the simple and unlaborious plenty which reigned among the scattered inhabitants,—but, above all, the singular purity and innocence of their manners, and the tranquil and unenvious equality in which they passed their days, form altogether a scene, on which the eye of philanthropy is never wearied

ied with gazing, and to which, perhaps, no parallel can be found in the annals of the fallen world. The heart turns with delight from the feverish scenes of European history, to the sweet repose of this true Atlantis; but sinks to reflect, that though its reality may still be attested by surviving witnesses, no such spot is *now* left, on the whole face of the earth, as a refuge from corruption and misery!

The poem opens with a fine description of this enchanting retirement. One calm summer morn, a friendly Indian arrives in his canoe, bringing with him a fair boy, who, with his mother, were the sole survivors of an English garrison which had been stormed by a hostile tribe. The dying mother had commended her boy to the care of her wild deliverers; and their chief, in obedience to her solemn bequest, now delivers him into the hands of the most respected of the adjoining settlers. Albert recognizes the unhappy orphan as the son of a beloved friend; and rears young Henry Waldegrave as the happy playmate of Gertrude, and sharer with her in the joys of their romantic solitude, and the lessons of their venerable instructor. When he is scarcely entered upon manhood, Henry is sent for by his friends in England, and roams over Europe in search of improvement for eight or nine years,—while the quiet hours are sliding over the father and daughter in the unbroken tranquillity of their Pensylvanian retreat. At last, Henry, whose heart had found no resting place in all the world besides, returns in all the mature graces of manhood, and marries his beloved Gertrude. Then there is bliss beyond all that is blissful on earth, —and more feelingly described than mere genius can ever hope to describe any thing. But the war of emancipation begins; and the dream of love and enjoyment is broken by alarms and dismal forebodings. While they are sitting one evening enjoying those tranquil delights, now more endeared by the fears which gather around them, an aged Indian rushes into their habitation, and, after disclosing himself for Henry's antient guide and preserver, informs them, that a hostile tribe, which had exterminated his whole family, is on its march towards their devoted dwellings. With considerable difficulty they effect their escape to a fort at some distance in the woods; and at sunrise, Gertrude, and her father and husband, look from its battlements over the scene of desolation which the murderous Indian had spread over the pleasant groves and gardens of Wyoming. While they are standing wrapt in this sad contemplation, an Indian marksman fires a mortal shot from his ambush at Albert; and as Gertrude clasps him in agony to her heart, another discharge lays her bleeding by his side. She then takes farewel of her husband, in a speech more sweetly pathetic than any thing ever written in rhyme.

Henry prostrates himself on her grave in convulsed and speechless agony; and his Indian deliverer, throwing his mantle over him, watches by him a while in gloomy silence; and at last addresses him in a sort of wild and energetic descant, exciting him, by his example, to be revenged, and to die. The poem closes with this vehement and impassioned exhortation.

Before proceeding to lay any part of the poem itself before our readers, we should try to give them some idea of that delightful harmony of colouring and of expression, which serves to unite every part of it for the production of one effect, and to make the description, narrative and reflections, conspire to breathe over the whole a certain air of pure and tender enchantment, which is not once dispelled, through the whole length of the poem, by the intrusion of any discordant impression. All that we can now do, however, is, to tell them that this was its effect upon our feelings; and to give them their chance of partaking in it, by a pretty copious selection of extracts.

The descriptive stanzas in the beginning, which set out with an invocation to Wyoming, though in some places a little obscure and overlaboured, are, to our taste, very soft and beautiful.

'On Susquehana's side, fair Wyoming!
Although the wild-flower on thy ruin'd wall
And roofless homes a sad remembrance bring
Of what thy gentle people did befall,
Yet thou wert once the loveliest land of all
That see the Atlantic wave their morn restore.
Sweet land! may I thy lost delights recall,
And paint thy Gertrude in her bowers of yore,
Whose beauty was the love of Pensylvania's shore!

'It was beneath thy skies that, but to prune
His Autumn fruits, or skim the light canoe,
Perchance, along thy river calm at noon
The happy shepherd swain had nought to do
From morn till evening's sweeter pastime grew;
Their timbrel, in the dance of forests brown
When lovely maidens prankt in flowret new;
And aye, those sunny mountains half way down
Would echo flagelet from some romantic town.

'Then, where of Indian hills the daylight takes
His leave, how might you the flamingo see
Disporting like a meteor on the lakes—
And playful squirrel on his nut-grown tree:
And ev'ry sound of life was full of glee,
From merry mock-bird's song, or hum of men;
While heark'ning, fearing nought their revelry,
The wild deer arch'd his neck from glades, and, then
Unhunted, sought his woods and wilderness again.

'And

'And scarce had Wyoming of war or crime
Heard but in transatlantic story rung,' &c. p. 5—7.

The account of the German, Spanish, Scottish and English settlers, and of the patriarchal harmony in which they were all united, is likewise given with great spirit and brevity; as well as the portrait of the venerable Albert, their own elected judge and adviser. A sudden transition is then made to Gertrude.

'Young, innocent! on whose sweet forehead mild
The parted ringlet shone in simplest guise,
An inmate in the home of Albert smil'd,
Or blest his noonday walk—she was his only child.

'The rose of England bloom'd on Gertrude's cheek—
What though these shades had seen her birth,' &c. p. 11.

After mentioning that she was left the only child of her mother, the author goes on in these sweet verses.

'A lov'd bequest! and I may half impart,
To them that feel the strong paternal tie,
How like a new existence to his heart
Uprose that living flow'r beneath his eye;
Dear as she was, from cherub infancy,
From hours when she would round his garden play,
To time when as the rip'ning years went by,
Her lovely mind could culture well repay,
And more engaging grew from pleasing day to day.

'I may not paint those thousand infant charms;
(Unconscious fascination, undesign'd!)
The orison repeated in his arms,
For God to bless her sire and all mankind;
The book, the bosom on his knee reclin'd,
Or how sweet fairy-lore he heard her con,
(The playmate ere the teacher of her mind):
All uncompanion'd else her years had gone
Till now in Gertrude's eyes their ninth blue summer shone.

'And summer was the tide, and sweet the hour,
When sire and daughter saw, with fleet descent,
An Indian from his bark approach their bow'r,' &c. p. 12, 13.

This is the guide and preserver of young Henry Waldegrave; who is somewhat fantastically described as appearing

'Led by his dusky guide, like Morning brought by Night.'

The Indian tells his story with great animation—the storming and blowing up of the English fort—and the tardy arrival of his friendly and avenging warriors. They found all the soldiers slaughtered.

'And from the tree we with her child unbound
'A lonely mother of the Christian land—
'Her lord—the captain of the British band—

'Amidst the slaughter of his soldiers lay;
'Scarce knew the widow our deliv'ring hand:
'Upon her child she sobb'd, and swoon'd away;
'Or shriek'd unto the God to whom the Christians pray.—

'Our virgins fed her with their kindly bowls
'Of fever-balm, and sweet sagamité;
'But she was journeying to the land of souls,
'And lifted up her dying head to pray
'That we should bid an antient friend convey
'Her orphan to his home of England's shore;
'And take, she said, this token far away
'To one that will remember us of yore,
'When he beholds the ring that Waldegrave's Julia wore.—'
p. 16, 17.

Albert recognises the child of his murdered friend with great emotion; which the Indian witnesses with characteristic and picturesque composure.

'Far differently the mute Oneyda took
His calumet of peace, and cup of joy;
As monumental bronze unchanged his look:
A soul that pity touch'd, but never shook:
Train'd, from his tree-rock'd cradle to his bier,
The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook
Impassive—fearing but the shame of fear—
A stoic of the woods—a man without a tear.—' p. 20.

This warrior, however, is not without high feelings and tender affections.

'He scorn'd his own, who felt another's woe:
And ere the wolf-skin on his back he flung,
Or laced his mocasins, in act to go,
A song of parting to the boy he sung,
Who slept on Albert's couch, nor heard his friendly tongue.

'Sleep, wearied one! and in the dreaming land
'Shouldst thou the spirit of thy mother greet,
'Oh! say, to-morrow, that the white man's hand
'Hath pluck'd the thorns of sorrow from thy feet;
'While I in lonely wilderness shall meet
'Thy little foot prints—or by traces know
'The fountain, where at noon I thought it sweet
'To feed thee with the quarry of my bow,
'And pour'd the lotus-horn, or slew the mountain roe.

'Adieu! sweet scion of the rising sun!' &c. p. 21, 22.

The Second part opens with a fine description of Albert's sequestered dwelling. It reminds us of that enchanted landscape in which Thomson has embosomed his Castle of Indolence. We can make room only for the first stanza.

'A

'A valley from the river shore withdrawn
Was Albert's home two quiet woods between,
Whose lofty verdure overlook'd his lawn;
And waters to their resting place serene
Came fresh'ning, and reflecting all the scene:
(A mirror in the depth of flowery shelves;)
So sweet a spot of earth, you might (I ween)
Have guess'd some congregation of the elves
To sport by summer moons, had shaped it for themselves.'
p. 27.

The effect of this seclusion on Gertrude is beautifully represented.

'It seem'd as if those scenes sweet influence had
On Gertrude's soul, and kindness like their own
Inspir'd those eyes affectionate and glad,
That seem'd to love whate'er they look'd upon;
Whether with Hebe's mirth her features shone,
Or if a shade more pleasing them o'ercast,
(As if for heav'nly musing meant alone;)
Yet so becomingly the expression past,
That each succeeding look was lovelier than the last.—

'Nor, guess I, was that Pensylvanian home,
With all its picturesque and balmy grace,
And fields that were a luxury to roam,
Lost on the soul that look'd from such a face!
Enthusiast of the woods! when years apace
Had bound thy lovely waist with woman's zone,
The sunrise path, at morn, I see thee trace
To hills with high magnolia overgrown;
And joy to breathe the groves romantic and alone.' p. 29, 30.

The morning scenery, too, is touched with a delicate and masterly hand.

'While yet the wild deer trode in spangling dew,
While boatman caroll'd to the fresh-blown air,
And woods a horizontal shadow threw,
And early fox appear'd in momentary view.' p. 32.

The reader is left rather too much in the dark as to Henry's departure for Europe;—nor, indeed, are we apprised of his absence, till we come to the scene of his unexpected return. Gertrude was used to spend the hot part of the day in reading in a lonely rocky recess in those safe woods; which is described with Mr Campbell's usual felicity.

———'Rocks sublime
To human art a sportive semblance wore;
And yellow lichens colour'd all the clime,
Like moonlight battlements, and towers decayed by time.

'But high, in amphitheatre above,

His

His arms the everlasting aloes threw:
Breath'd but an air of heav'n, and all the grove
As if with instinct living spirit grew,
Rolling its verdant gulphs of every hue;
And now suspended was the pleasing din,
Now from a murmur faint it swell'd anew,
Like the first note of organ heard within
Cathedral aisles—ere yet its symphony begin.' p. 33.

In this retreat, which is represented as so solitary, that, except her own,

———' scarce an ear had heard
The stock-dove plaining through its gloom profound,
Or winglet of the fairy humming bird,
Like atoms of the rainbow fluttering round'— p. 34.

—a stranger of lofty port and gentle manners surprises her, and is conducted to her father. They enter into conversation on the subject of his travels.

——' And much they lov'd his fervid strain,—
While he each fair variety retrac'd
Of climes, and manners, o'er the eastern main:—
Now happy Switzer's hills—romantic Spain—
Gay lilied fields of France,—or, more refin'd,
The soft Ausonia's monumental reign;
Nor less each rural image he design'd,
Than all the city's pomp and home of human kind.

' Anon some wilder portraiture he draws;
Of Nature's savage glories he would speak,—
The loneliness of earth that overawes,—
Where, resting by some tomb of old Cacique,
The lama-driver on Peruvia's peak,
Nor voice nor living motion marks around;
But storks that to the boundless forest shriek;
Or wild-cane arch high flung o'er gulf profound,
That fluctuates when the storms of El Dorado sound.' p. 36-7.

Albert, at last, bethinks him of inquiring after his stray ward young Henry, and entertains his guest with a short summary of his history.

' His face the wand'rer hid;—but could not hide
A tear, a smile, upon his cheek that dwell;—
" And speak, mysterious stranger!" (Gertrude cried)
" It is!—it is!—I knew—I knew him well!
" 'Tis Waldegrave's self, of Waldegrave come to tell!"
A burst of joy the father's lips declare;
But Gertrude speechless on his bosom fell:
At once his open arms embrac'd the pair;
Was never group more blest, in this wide world of care.' p. 39.

The burst of their joy and artless love is represented with all the

the fine colours of truth and poetry; but we cannot now make room for it. The Second Part ends with this stanza.

'Then would that home admit them—happier far
Than grandeur's most magnificent saloon—
While, here and there, a solitary star
Flush'd in the dark'ning firmament of June;
And silence brought the soul-felt hour, full soon,
Ineffable,—which I may not pourtray;
For never did the Hymenean moon
A paradise of hearts more sacred sway,
In all that slept beneath her soft voluptuous ray.' p. 43.

The Last part sets out with a soft but spirited sketch of their short-lived felicity.

'Three little moons, how short, amidst the grove,
And pastoral savannas they consume!
While she, beside her buskin'd youth to rove,
Delights, in fancifully wild costume,
Her lovely brow to shade with Indian plume;
And forth in hunter-seeming vest they fare;
But not to chase the deer in forest gloom;
'Tis but the breath of heav'n—the blessed air—
And interchange of hearts, unknown, unseen to share.

'What though the sportive dog oft round them note,
Or fawn, or wild bird bursting on the wing;
Yet who, in love's own presence, would devote
To death those gentle throats that wake the spring;
Or writhing from the brook its victim bring?
No!—nor let fear one little warbler rouse;
But, fed by Gertrude's hand, still let them sing,
Acquaintance of her path, amidst the boughs,
That shade ev'n now her love, and witness'd first her vows.'
p. 48, 49.

The transition to the melancholy part of the story is introduced with great tenderness and dignity.

'But mortal pleasure, what art thou in truth?
The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below!
And must I change my song? and must I show,
Sweet Wyoming! the day, when thou wert doom'd,
Guiltless, to mourn thy loveliest bow'rs laid low!
When where of yesterday a garden bloom'd,
Death overspread his pall, and black'ning ashes gloom'd?—

'Sad was the year, by proud Oppression driv'n,
When Transatlantic Liberty arose,
Not in the sunshine, and the smile of heav'n,
But wrapt in whirlwinds, and begirt with woes:
Amidst the strife of fratricidal foes,

Her

Her birth star was the light of burning plains;
Her baptism is the weight of blood that flows
From kindred hearts—the blood of British veins—
And famine tracks her steps, and pestilential pains.' p. 50–1.

Gertrude's alarm and dejection at the prospect of hostilities are well described,

" O, meet not thou," she cries, " thy kindred foe!
" But peaceful let us seek fair England's strand," &c.

—as well as the arguments and generous sentiments by which her husband labours to reconcile her to a necessary evil. The nocturnal irruption of the old Indian is given with great spirit:—age and misery had so changed his appearance, that he was not at first recognized by any of the party.

' ' And hast thou then forgot,' (he cried forlorn,
And ey'd the group with half indignant air),
' Oh! hast thou, Christian chief, forgot the morn
' When I with thee the cup of peace did share?
' Then stately was this head, and dark this hair,
' That now is white as Appalachia's snow;
' But, if the weight of fifteen years' despair,
' And age hath bow'd me, and the tort'ring foe,
' Bring me my boy—and he will his deliverer know!'—

' It was not long, with eyes and heart of flame,
Ere Henry to his lov'd Oneyda flew:
' Bless thee, my guide!'—but, backward, as he came,
The chief his old bewilder'd head withdrew,
And grasp'd his arm, and look'd and look'd him through.
'Twas strange—nor could the group a smile controul—
The long, the doubtful scrutiny to view:—
At last delight o'er all his features stole,
' It is—my own—' he cried, and clasp'd him to his soul.—

' ' Yes! thou recall'st my pride of years, for then
' The bowstring of my spirit was not slack,
' When, spite of woods, and floods, and ambush'd men,
' I bore thee like the quiver on my back,
' Fleet as the whirlwind hurries on the rack;
' Nor foeman then, nor cougar's crouch I fear'd,
' For I was strong as mountain cataract:
' And dost thou not remember how we cheer'd
' Upon the last hill-top, when white men's huts appear'd?'
p. 54—56.

After warning them of the approach of their terrible foe, the conflagration is seen, and the whoops and scattering shot of the enemy heard at a distance. The motley militia of the neighbourhood flock to the defence of Albert: the effect of their shouts and music on the old Indian is fine and striking.

' Rous'd

'Rous'd by their warlike pomp, and mirth, and cheer,
Old Outalissi woke his battle song,
And, beating with his war-club cadence strong,
Tells how his deep-stung indignation smarts,' &c. p. 61.

Nor is the contrast of this savage enthusiasm with the venerable composure of Albert, less beautifully represented.

'Calm, opposite the Christian father rose,
Pale on his venerable brow its rays
Of martyr light the conflagration throws;
One hand upon his lovely child he lays,
And one th' uncover'd crowd to silence sways;
While, though the battle flash is faster driv'n,—
Unaw'd, with eye unstartled by the blaze,
He for his bleeding country prays to Heav'n,—
Prays that the men of blood themselves may be forgiven.
p. 62.

They then speed their night march to the distant fort, whose wedged ravelins and redoubts

'Wove like a diadem its tracery round
The lofty summit of that mountain green'—

and look back from its lofty height on the desolated scenes around them. We will not separate, nor apologize for the length of the fine passage that follows; which alone, we think, might justify all we have said in praise of the poem.

'A scene of death! where fires beneath the sun,
And blended arms, and white pavilions glow;
And for the business of destruction done,
Its requiem the war-horn seem'd to blow.
There, sad spectatress of her country's woe!
The lovely Gertrude, safe from present harm,
Had laid her cheek, and clasp'd her hands of snow
On Waldegrave's shoulder, half within his arm
Enclos'd, that felt her heart, and hush'd its wild alarm!

'But short that contemplation—sad and short
The pause to bid each much-lov'd scene adieu!
Beneath the very shadow of the fort,
Where friendly swords were drawn, and banners flew.
Ah! who could deem that foot of Indian crew
Was near?—yet there, with lust of murd'rous deeds,
Gleam'd like a basilisk, from woods in view,
The ambush'd foeman's eye—his volley speeds,
And Albert—Albert—falls! the dear old father bleeds!

'And trance'd in giddy horror Gertrude swoon'd;
Yet, while she clasps him lifeless to her zone,
Say, burst they, borrow'd from her father's wound,
These drops?—Oh God! the life-blood is her own;

And

And falt'ring, on her Waldegrave's bosom thrown—
'Weep not, O Love! '—she cries, 'to see me bleed—
'Thee, Gertrude's sad survivor, thee alone—
'Heaven's peace commiserate; for scarce I heed
'These wounds;—yet thee to leave is death, is death indeed.

'Clasp me a little longer, on the brink
'Of fate! while I can feel thy drear caress;
'And, when this heart hath ceas'd to beat—oh! think,
'And let it mitigate thy woe's excess,
'That thou hast been to me all tenderness,
'And friend to more than human friendship just.
'Oh! by that retrospect of happiness,
'And by the hopes of an immortal trust,
'God shall assuage thy pangs—when I am laid in dust!

'Go, Henry, go not back, when I depart;
'The scene thy bursting tears too deep will move,
'Where my dear father took thee to his heart,
'And Gertrude thought it ecstasy to rove
'With thee, as with an angel, through the grove
'Of peace,—imagining her lot was cast
'In heav'n; for ours was not like earthly love.
'And must this parting be our very last?
'No! I shall love thee still, when death itself is past.—

'Half could I bear, methinks, to leave this earth,—
'And thee, more lov'd than aught beneath the sun,
'If I had liv'd to smile but on the birth
'Of one dear pledge;—but shall there then be none,
'In future times—no gentle little one,
'To clasp thy neck, and look, resembling me!
'Yet seems it, ev'n while life's last pulses run,
'A sweetness in the cup of death to be,
'Lord of my bosom's love! to die beholding thee!'

'Hush'd were his Gertrude's lips! but still their bland
And beautiful expression seem'd to melt
With love that could not die! and still his hand
She presses to the heart no more that felt.
Ah heart! where once each fond affection dwelt,
And features yet that spoke a soul more fair.' p. 64—68.

The funeral is hurried over with pathetic brevity; and the desolated and all-enduring Indian brought in again with peculiar beauty.

'Touch'd by the music, and the melting scene,
Was scarce one tearless eye amidst the crowd:—
Stern warriors, resting on their swords, were seen
To veil their eyes, as pass'd each much-lov'd shroud—
While woman's softer soul in woe dissolv'd aloud.

'Then

'Then mournfully the parting bugle bid
Its farewell o'er the grave of worth and truth.
Prone to the dust, afflicted Waldegrave hid
His face on earth.—Him watch'd in gloomy ruth,
His woodland guide; but words had none to sooth
The grief that knew not consolation's name:
Casting his Indian mantle o'er the youth,
He watch'd, beneath its folds, each burst that came
Convulsive, ague-like, across his shuddering frame! p. 69.

After some time spent in this mute and awful pause, this stern and heart-struck comforter breaks out into the following touching and energetic address, with which the poem closes, with great spirit and abruptness.

'And *I* could weep;'—th' Oneyda chief
His descant wildly thus began:
'But that I may not stain with grief
'The death-song of my father's son!
'Or bow this head in woe;
'For by my wrongs, and by my wrath!
'To-morrow Areouski's breath,
'(That fires yon heav'n with storms of death),
'Shall light us to the foe:
'And we shall share, my Christian boy!
'The foeman's blood, the avenger's joy!—

'But thee, my flow'r whose breath was giv'n
'By milder genii o'er the deep,
'The spirits of the white man's heav'n
'Forbid not *thee* to weep:—
'Nor will the Christian host,
'Nor will thy father's spirit grieve
'To see thee, on the battle's eve,
'Lamenting take a mournful leave
'Of her who lov'd thee most:
'She was the rainbow to thy sight!
'Thy sun—thy heav'n—of lost delight!—

'To-morrow let us do or die!
'But when the bolt of death is hurl'd,
'Ah! whither then with thee to fly,
'Shall Outalissi roam the world?
'Seek we thy once-lov'd home?—
'The hand is gone that cropt its flowers!
'Unheard their clock repeats its hours!—
'Cold is the hearth within their bow'rs!—
'And should we thither roam,
'Its echoes, and its empty tread,
'Would sound like voices from the dead!'

'But

'But hark, the trump!—tomorrow thou
'In glory's fires shalt dry thy tears:
'Ev'n from the land of shadows now
'My father's awful ghost appears,
'Amidst the clouds that round us roll;
'He bids my soul for battle thirst—
'He bids me dry the last—the first—
'The only tears that ever burst—
'From Outalissi's soul;—
'Because I may not stain with grief
'The death-song of an Indian chief!' p. 70—73.

It is needless, after these extracts, to enlarge upon the beauties of this poem. They consist chiefly in the feeling and tenderness of the whole delineation, and the taste and delicacy with which all the subordinate parts are made to contribute to the general effect. Before dismissing it, however, we must say a little of its faults, which are sufficiently obvious and undeniable. In the first place, the narrative is extremely obscure and imperfect; and has greater blanks in it than could be tolerated even in lyric poetry. We hear absolutely nothing of Henry, from the day the Indian first brings him from the back country, till he returns from Europe fifteen years thereafter. It is likewise a great oversight in Mr Campbell to separate his lovers, when only *twelve* years of age,—a period at which it is utterly inconceivable that any permanent attachment could have been formed. The greatest fault, however, of the work, is the occasional constraint and obscurity of the diction, proceeding apparently from too laborious an effort at emphasis or condensation. The metal seems in several places to have been so much overworked, as to have lost not only its ductility, but its lustre; and, while there are passages which can scarcely be at all understood after the most careful consideration, there are others which have an air so elaborate and artificial, as to destroy all appearance of nature in the sentiment. Our readers may have remarked something of this sort, in the first extracts with which we have presented them; but there are specimens still more exceptionable. In order to inform us that Albert had lost his wife, Mr Campbell is pleased to say, that

———'Fate had reft his mutual heart;'

and in order to tell us something else—though what, we are utterly unable to conjecture—he concludes a stanza on the delights of mutual love, with these three lines

'Roll on, ye days of raptur'd influence, shine!
'Nor, blind with ecstasy's celestial fire,
'Shall love behold the spark of earth-born time expire.'

The whole twenty-second stanza of the first part is extremely incorrect;—the three concluding lines are almost unintelligible.

'But

'But where was I when Waldegrave was no more?
'And thou didst pale thy gentle head extend,
'In woes, that ev'n the tribe of deserts was thy friend!'

If Mr Campbell had duly considered the primary necessity of perspicuity,—especially in compositions which aim only at pleasing,—we are persuaded that he would never have left these and some other passages in so very questionable a state. There is still a good deal for him to do, indeed, in a new edition: and working—as he must work—in the true spirit and pattern of what is before him, we hope he will yet be induced to make considerable additions to a work, which will please those most who are most worthy to be pleased, and always seem most beautiful to those who give it the greatest share of their attention.

Of the smaller pieces which fill up the volume, we have scarce left ourselves room to say any thing. The greater part of them have been printed before; and there are probably few readers of English poetry who are not already familiar with the Lochiel and the Hohinlinden—the one by far the most spirited and poetical denunciation of woe since the days of Cassandra; the other the only representation of a modern battle, which possesses either interest or sublimity. The song to 'the Mariners of England,' is also very generally known. It is a splendid instance of the most magnificent diction adapted to a familiar and even trivial metre. Nothing can be finer than the first and the last stanzas.

'Ye mariners of England!
That guard our native seas;
Whose flag has braved, a thousand years,
The battle, and the breeze!
Your glorious standard launch again
To match another foe!
And sweep through the deep,' &c. p. 101.

'The meteor flag of England
Shall yet terrific burn;
Till danger's troubled night depart,
And the star of peace return.
Then, then, ye ocean-warriors!
Our song and feast shall flow
To the fame of your name,
When the storm has ceas'd to blow;
When the fiery fight is heard no more,
And the storm has ceas'd to blow.' p. 103, 104.

'The Battle of the Baltic,' though we think it has been printed before, is much less known. Though written in a strange, and we think an unfortunate metre, it has great force and grandeur, both of conception and expression—that sort of force and grandeur which results from the simple and concise expression of great events and natural emotions, altogether unassisted by any splen-

dour or amplification of expression. The characteristic merit, indeed, both of this piece and of Hohinlinden, is, that, by the forcible delineation of one or two great circumstances, they give a clear and most energetic representation of events as complicated as they are impressive,—and thus impress the mind of the reader with all the terror and sublimity of the subject, while they rescue him from the fatigue and perplexity of its details. Nothing, in our judgment, can be more impressive than the following very short and simple description of the British fleet bearing up to close action.

> 'As they drifted on their path,
> There was silence deep as death;
> And the boldest held his breath,
> For a time.—' p. 109.

The description of the battle itself (though it begins with a tremendous line) is in the same spirit of homely sublimity; and worth a thousand stanzas of thunder, shrieks, shouts, tridents, and heroes.

> '"Hearts of oak," our captains cried! when each gun
> From its adamantine lips
> Spread a death-shade round the ships,
> Like the hurricane eclipse
> Of the sun.—
>
> 'Again! again! again!
> And the havoc did not slack,
> Till a feeble cheer the Dane
> To our cheering sent us back;—
> Their shots along the deep slowly boom:—
> Then cease—and all is wail,
> As they strike the shatter'd sail;
> Or, in conflagration pale,
> Light the gloom.—'

There are two little ballad pieces, published for the first time, in this collection, which have both very considerable merit, and afford a favourable specimen of Mr Campbell's powers in this new line of exertion. The longest is the most beautiful; but we give our readers the shortest, because we can give it entire.

> 'O heard ye yon pibrach sound sad in the gale,
> Where a band cometh slowly with weeping and wail?
> 'Tis the chief of Glenara laments for his dear;
> And her sire, and the people, are called to her bier.
>
> 'Glenara came first with the mourners and shroud;
> Her kinsmen they followed, but mourn'd not aloud:
> Their plaids all their bosoms were folded around:
> They marched all in silence—they look'd on the ground.
>
> 'In silence they reach'd over mountain and moor,
> To a heath, where the oak-tree grew lonely and hoar;

Now

Now here let us place the grey stone of her cairn:
" Why speak ye no word?"—said Glenara the stern.

' " And tell me, I charge you! ye clan of my spouse,
Why fold ye your mantles, why cloud ye your brows?"
So spake the rude chieftain:—no answer is made,
But each mantle unfolding a dagger display'd.

' " I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her shroud,"
Cried a voice from the kinsmen, all wrathful and loud;
" And empty that shroud, and that coffin did seem:
" Glenara! Glenara! now read me my dream!"

' O! pale grew the cheek of that chieftain, I ween,
When the shroud was unclos'd, and no lady was seen;
When a voice from the kinsmen spoke louder in scorn,
'Twas the youth who had lov'd the fair Ellen of Lorn:

' " I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her grief,
" I dreamt that her lord was a barbarous chief;
" On a rock of the ocean fair Ellen did seem;
" Glenara! Glenara! now read me my dream!"

' In dust, low the traitor has knelt to the ground,
And the desert revealed where his lady was found;
From a rock of the ocean that beauty is borne,
Now joy to the house of fair Ellen of Lorn!' p. 105—107.

We close this volume, on the whole, with feelings of regret for its shortness, and of admiration for the genius of its author. There are but two noble sorts of poetry,—the pathetic and the sublime; and we think he has given very extraordinary proofs of his talents for both. There is something, too, we will venture to add, in the style of many of his conceptions, which irresistibly impresses us with the conviction, that he can do much greater things than he has hitherto accomplished; and leads us to regard him, even yet, as a poet of still greater promise than performance. It seems to us, as if the natural force and boldness of his ideas were habitually checked by a certain fastidious timidity, and an anxiety about the minor graces of correct and chastened composition. Certain it is, at least, that his greatest and most lofty flights have been made in those smaller pieces, about which, it is natural to think, he must have felt least solicitude; and that he has succeeded most splendidly where he must have been most free from the fear of failure. We wish any praises or exhortations of ours had the power to give him confidence in his own great talents; and hope earnestly, that he will now meet with such encouragement, as may set him above all restraints that proceed from apprehension, and induce him to give free scope to that genius, of which we are persuaded that the world has hitherto seen rather the grace than the richness.

ART. II. *L'Identité de l'Interet general avec l'Interet individuel; ou la libre Action de l'Interet individuel est la vrai Source des Richesses des Nations. Principe exposé dans le Rapport sur un Projet de Loi Agraire, adressé au Conseil Supreme de Castille, au Nom de la Societé Economique de Madrid.* Par Don Guſpard Melchior Jovellanos, ci-devant Miniſtre de Grace et Juſtice, et Membre du Conſeil d'Etat de S. M. Catholique. 8vo. pp. 292. St Peterſbourg. 1806.

AMONG the recent productions of the Continental preſs, we know few, if any, on which ſo many circumſtances conſpire to throw intereſt, as that to which we are now about to direct the notice of the public. The extraordinary ſcenes which have recently been acted in Spain, have fixed upon that country, to an unuſual degree, the attention of mankind; and as the myſterious and concealing policy of the antient government excluded foreigners in general from any ſatisfactory knowledge of their internal policy, every man of liberal curioſity muſt be gratified with this copious and authentic expoſition.

There is ſomething, however, in the hiſtory of this work of Jovellanos, which would have made it intereſting, to whatever country it related. He wrote in a high ſtation, while inveſted with the moſt important public truſts; and, though in circumſtances ſuch as theſe, which experience has proved to be far from favourable to the growth of intellect and diſintereſtedneſs, he not only roſe above the prejudices which formed the groundwork of the policy in which he was an agent, but had the courage to denounce them to the body of his countrymen. His reward was ſuch as thoſe who profit by prejudices, would every where beſtow upon thoſe who expoſe them. He was immured in a dungeon; where, during ſeven long years, he expiated the guilt of having laboured to enlighten his countrymen on the means of improving their ſituation,—the crime of having told, contrary to the intereſt of thoſe who upheld the abuſes, that any improvement was neceſſary. His priſon doors were only thrown open by the ſhock of the late revolution.

It was a particular occaſion which gave birth to this intereſting performance. The Supreme Council of Caſtile, having taken into conſideration the ſtate of agriculture in the kingdom of Spain, had prepared the ſcheme of a law, to be denominated an Agrarian law, for the improvement of this branch of the national wealth. Before giving this ſcheme the actual force of a law, it was thought proper to refer it to the Economical Society of Madrid, an aſſociation of ſome of the moſt enlightened men of the country, formed for the purpoſe of collecting and communicating knowledge on the

the different branches of the national weal. The preſent Memoir, drawn up by Jovellanos, miniſter of grace and juſtice, and a member of the Council of State, was the anſwer which the Society returned. The copy of the work which is now before us is a tranſlation in the French language, which was printed in the Ruſſian capital in 1806.

The ſubject of the diſcourſe, therefore, is agriculture; but agriculture regarded in a particular point of view. It is not the art of cultivating the ground, nor the ſciences to which that art muſt be indebted for its perfection, on which the author propoſes to offer his inſtructions: it is the relation which ſubſiſts between agriculture and the laws; the inſeparable connexion between good huſbandry and good legiſlation; the impoſſibility of beholding the fields covered with riches, while the book of laws is empty of juſtice and wiſdom. This is an inquiry with regard to agriculture which is in a great meaſure new; for though induſtry, in general, has been abundantly proved to be the inſeparable companion of good laws, yet the particular manner in which the important buſineſs of agriculture depends in every country upon the laws, had not before, ſo far as we at preſent recollect, been ſelected for the ſubject of a peculiar inveſtigation. It is an inquiry which leads to many intereſting concluſions.

In an hiſtorical view which the author takes of the agriculture of Spain, he repreſents it, on reaſons as good as the imperfection of our documents permits us perhaps to attain, as in a ſtate of perpetual progreſs from the time of the Romans, till the moment when he wrote. There is ſomething conſolatory in this belief; for it leads to the delightful concluſion, that, even in thoſe countries of Europe where improvement has moſt ſlowly forced its way, human nature has ſtill been gaining ſomething, and that the progreſſive tendency in the affairs of man is not eaſily overcome. The ſame hiſtorical view preſents to the author another inference of peculiar importance,—that the condition of the Spaniſh agriculture has always followed the political condition of the country.

'Telle,' says he, 'est l'histoire simple et abregée de l'agriculture nationale et de son etat progressif dans ses differentes epoques. La Societé n'a pu recueillir, comparer et verifier les faits, sans faire en même temps beaucoup d'observations importantes qui lui serviront de guide dans le present rapport. Toutes ces observations se reunissent pour prouver que le sort de l'agriculture a toujours suivi celui de la situation politique de la nation, et que son influence a été telle, que ni la beauté du climat, ni la fertilité du sol, ni son aptitude à fournir les productions les plus riches et les plus variées, ni la position avantageuse de la presqu'ile pour le commerce maritime, ni enfin tous les dons que la nature bienfaisante a repandu sur elle, n'ont été assez puissans pour vaincre les obstacles que cette situation opposoit à ses progrès..... Le sort des campagnes a toujours

été plus ou moins heureux, suivant que les loix agraires etoient plus ou moins opposées à l'interêt de leurs habitans.'

In endeavouring to ascertain the great principle which regulates the prosperity of agriculture, he discovered, what it was impossible that a mind of such a reach should not discover, that it was the same which regulates the prosperity of every other branch of human industry—the operation of individual interest. He even professes, as indeed the title-page declares, that his whole discourse is but an illustration of this principle. It is, however, more properly speaking, a chain of deductions, or corollaries from that principle. The principle itself he takes in a great measure for granted; and indeed it is so evident, that a man who is capable of reasoning, can scarcely think it necessary to prove it. Yet we cannot help thinking, that the important doctrines of Jovellanos would have appeared to the bulk of readers in a still more striking light, had he taken pains to imprint more deeply the conviction of the truth and universality of his standard proposition. It is not simple assent to a naked doctrine, which can carry an ordinary man through a long train of inferences in practical matters, and lend to each the belief due to the proposition on which it depends. He must, as we say in ordinary language, be penetrated with the conviction: it must be incorporated with his associations, and rendered so familiar to his mind, as to suggest itself of its own accord, as often as its presence in the shape of proof is at all necessary. Even in this country, where the fundamental doctrines of political economy are much more generally understood than any where else, there is probably not one man in a hundred, even in the better educated classes, who sees, with sufficient clearness, that individual interest is the grand, and all-sufficient spring, both of intelligence and of activity in the entire field of human industry. Put the proposition to him in general terms; and the evidence it bears on the face of it, with his inability to find at the moment an exception, will probably gain you his immediate assent: But continue the conversation through one or two deductions, and unless you have been at pains to keep the proposition constantly in his eye, you will find he has lost sight of it in a very few steps. Ask him what has drained marshes, cleared forests, and converted the surface of the ground into mines much more wealthy than those of gold; he will readily answer, individual interest; every man striving to procure to himself some new advantage, wherever he possesses the satisfactory prospect of reaping in security the fruits of his labour. Ask him, too, what has converted fields, that once were mines of wealth, into marshes and forests again: he will answer with equal readiness, the obstruction of individual interests, wherever it has unfortunately happened that men were uncertain

uncertain with regard to the enjoyment of any advantage which their labours might be directed to procure. Aſk him, however, if a bounty on the exportation of corn, or a monopoly of the diſtilleries is neceſſary in Great Britain for the proſperity of agriculture; and you will be ſure, if he is a proprietor or cultivator of land, to get an affirmative anſwer. Aſk, if a monopoly of the trade of our colonies is neceſſary to the commercial proſperity of the country; and every man, almoſt without exception, will tell you, that the monopoly is nearly, if not altogether, the only ſource of benefit from colonies. Yet theſe are all inſtances of direct interference with the law of individual intereſt.

We know not if it has ever been duly conſidered—we are ſure it has never been duly impreſſed upon the public—that the ſalutary operation of individual intereſt conſtitutes the ſole ground and juſtification of individual property in land. It was by this appropriation that individual intereſt could be moſt effectually applied to extract the means of human enjoyment from the ground. But, remove the operation of this principle, or ſuppoſe the effect to be produced by other means; the inſtitution of property in land muſt then be regarded as pernicious to human nature; and never could have been introduced. The proprietors of land, therefore, are peculiarly called upon to patronize, on all occaſions, the pure operation of individual intereſt, and to combat every inſtitution by which it is liable to be thwarted.

Two things are wanted for the improvement of this, as of the other branches of human induſtry: firſt, motives to exertion; and, ſecondly, knowledge to direct that exertion. In regard to the firſt, it will be readily acknowledged, that the natural reward of labour, the particular advantage which it is at any time directed to procure, is the only effectual motive for its exertion. In regard to the ſecond, the queſtion has been conſidered as more doubtful, but on very inſufficient grounds. Who is ſo much intereſted in improving any proceſs of art, as the man who is immediately to reap the advantage of the improvement? Suppoſe the whole claſs of individuals engaged in any great branch of induſtry, occupied with all the vigilance which individual intereſt can excite in ſtudying every part of the proceſs, with a view to ſave expenſe, or to increaſe produce; and then ſee if there be any power which government could ſet in motion, likely to be, in any comparable degree, equivalent to this maſs of minds, thus intently, and nearly employed. As for thoſe important aids which are ſometimes derived from deeper ſciences, and wider views, than the agents in the common branches of induſtry can be expected to reach, it will be readily allowed, that however theſe may help, they can by no means ſuperſede the improvements

which unlearned ſagacity and vigilance produce. Beſides, government is no leſs unfit a guide in theſe than in the other claſs of improvements; and for as few of them has induſtry been any where indebted to government.

But if individual intereſt, in the caſe of agriculture, is the moſt effectual power to furniſh both the motives to exertion, and the knowledge to direct that exertion, it poſſeſſes in itſelf all the principles of progreſſion; and the beſt ſervice which laws can render it, is to protect it from every thing which can diſturb the operation of that important principle. Enable all the agents in this great province of national wealth to enjoy, in ſecurity, the fruits of their labour, (ſuch is the ſimple taſk which nature has impoſed upon governments), and you can do for it little more.

It is ſurely high time that theſe elementary doctrines were brought home to the breaſts of legiſlators; for the complaint of Jovellanos, that legiſlation has hardly ever touched upon agriculture but to put ſhackles upon the operation of individual intereſt, is not applicable to Spain alone. There is not a country in Europe, where the legiſlature, either from blind and ignorant conceptions of improvement, or from baſe ſubſervience to the intereſts of ſome leading claſſes, has not loaded agriculture with pernicious regulations, and oppoſed to its progreſs the moſt fatal obſtacles. The ſervice, therefore, which our diſtinguiſhed author requires at the hand of legiſlators, is not to build up, but to pull down;—not to eſtabliſh new laws, but to aboliſh old.

'Pour peu qu'on medite sur cette matiere, on verra,' says he, que l'agriculture a toujours une tendance naturelle vers sa perfection, que les loix ne peuvent la favoriser, qu'en donnant une plus grande force à cette tendance: que cette faveur ne consiste pas autant à lui presenter des encouragemens, qu'à ecarter les obstacles qui retardent ses progrès; en un mot, que l'unique but des loix, relativement à l'agriculture, doit être, de proteger l'intérêt de ses agens, en ecartant tous les obstacles qui peuvent embarasser, ou ralentir son action, & son mouvement.'.....'Il est evident,' says he in another place, 'que l'office des loix vis-a-vis de l'une et de l'autre proprieté,' [the property either of the land or of the fruits of the land,] 'ne doit pas être d'exciter, ni de diriger, mais de proteger seulement l'intérêt de ses agens, naturellement actif et bien dirigé vers son objet.'

If these important doctrines are admitted, it remains to be inquired, what are the obstacles which oppose the progress of agriculture; and what legislation (since it is in this way alone that legislators can operate in favour of agriculture) can do to remove them.

Jovellanos has judiciously classed those obstacles under three heads; the first comprehending those which are created by the laws,

laws, and which he denominates the *political* obstacles; the second, those which arise from the state of public opinion, and which he calls the *moral* obstacles; the third, those which are referable to the physical circumstances of the country, and which he styles the *physical* obstacles. We shall follow him pretty closely through the interesting statements and illustrations which he affords us under each of those titles.

1. Political obstacles. Jovellanos touches, with a gentle hand, on the *causes* of the bad laws on this subject in Spain. In fact, he pretty plainly intimates, as he afterwards experienced, the danger of touching upon them at all. Of the extent, however, of this evil, he by no means disguises his sentiments.

'La societé,' says he, 'en examinant la legislation Castillane, relativement à l'agriculture, n'a pu se garantir d'un sentiment d'effroi, à la vue de la multitude de loix, que renferment nos codes, sur un objet si simple. Osera-t-elle prononcer que la majeure partie de ces loix a toujours été, et est encore, ou totalement contraire, ou extremement nuisible, ou tout au moins inutile à leur objet?'

He presently, however, softens this censure, by declaring, what is very true, that of the neighbours of Spain, none had much cause, in this particular, to triumph in their own superiority. 'Les codes ruraux de toutes les nations sont infectés de loix, d'ordonnances, de réglemens, dirigés vers l'amelioration de l'agriculture, et très contraires à sa prosperité.' Talking of the propensity to accumulate law upon law, and of the ignorance 'qu'il etoit plus necessaire d'abroger, que d'etablir; he thinks it necessary, not only to ascribe the same errors to all other nations, the most as well as the least enlightened, but to trace them to that beloved storehouse of things, both clean and unclean—a respect for antiquity. 'Quel,' he cries, 'est le peuple de la terre, quelque ignoré qu'il puisse être, qui n'est pas tombe dans cette erreur, fille d'un prejugé excusable, provenant du respect pour l'antiquité?'

The first, which he examines, of the grand abuses created or supported by the laws, is that which is here translated *communes*. The *communes*, or common lands in Spain, though not entirely on the same footing as in England, yet bear a sufficiently close analogy to fall under the same description. If the operation of individual interest is the grand spring of agricultural improvement, nothing can be so adverse to improvement as the toleration of commons. They receive, accordingly, our author's strongest condemnation. It is not, however, on this point, that the people of England now stand in need of his instruction. The conviction that commons are, in reality, so much soil in a great measure withdrawn from utility, is so general, that nothing, except

cept here and there the interest of some powerful party, or the exorbitant and pernicious expense attending the passing of an act of Parliament, leaves any where a common to disfigure the face of the country. Jovellanos, however, represents them as still respected by his countrymen, and as comprehending 'une precieuse partie des terres cultivables de l'Espagne.'

There is another nuisance of the same kind in Spain, from which we are in a great measure exempt in this country; that is, lands possessed by the municipal bodies. These, too, being withdrawn from the salutary operation of individual interest, exhibit a state of management and utility resembling that which distinguishes common lands themselves. Though Jovellanos allows that this property is equally sacred and worthy of protection with that of individuals, he thinks the national good demands, that those municipal bodies, as they show that they cannot themselves turn their land to advantage, ſhould be compelled to divide and diſpoſe of it, either by abſolute transfer, or in the way of perpetual rent. He points out a variety of modes in which the purchaſe-money might be rendered more productive to the municipal body, than the land for which it was obtained; in the conſtruction, for example, of bridges; in the formation of roads and canals; and in other works of public utility, or even as lent to the ſtate.

He comes next to an abuſe ſtill more general, and of a ſtill more barbarous complexion; the law by which even individuals were prohibited from encloſing their grounds; by which they were obliged to remove the fences they might have erected for the protection of the crops on the ground, when the crops were withdrawn, and to leave the whole country one great common, to be paſtured by the flocks and herds of every man, till ſeed-time again came round. So wide was the operation of this pernicious regulation, and ſo durable the ignorance and negligence on which it depended, that it was not till the year 1788 that even gardens and vineyards were exempted from it.

This wretched law, the natural offſpring of a barbarous period, when cultivation being in its infancy, cattle are ſtill the principal riches of the country, and the farmer too unſkilful to make proviſion for the winter, has been permitted to remain, partly from that apathy and that *inertia* which belong to a bad government, and partly from the influence of the *Mesta*, another of thoſe abuſes expoſed by Jovellanos, and a ſingularity in rural economy.

The migrations of the Spaniſh ſheep, which are fed in the mountains of Leon and the neighbouring provinces during the ſummer, to the plains of Eſtremadura in the winter, and back again when ſummer returns, are ſufficiently known. But the formation

mation of that ſpecies of corporate body, to whom the privileges granted to theſe migrating flocks, called alſo the royal flocks, belong, we have not found any where explained but in the work before us. It is a very curious point of Spaniſh history.

'La fondation,' says the author, 'du troupeau royal ne fut autre chose dans le principe qu'une sauvegarde accordée par les loix à tous les troupeaux du royaume, sans exception. Et la reunion des montagnards en confraire n'eut d'abord d'autre but, que celui d'assurer la jouissance de ce bienfait. Les habitans de ces montagnes, dont la chaine se detache de Pyrennées pour se repandre dans l'interieur de notre continent, forcés de chercher en hiver des plaines abritées pour le paturage de leurs troupeaux, que la neige chassoit des sommets, sentirent le besoin de s'unir entre eux, non pour obtenir des privileges, mais pour la garantie de cette protection que les loix avoient offertes à tout le monde, et que les riches proprietaires des troupeaux riverains commençoient à usurper pour eux seuls. Voilà comment l'histoire de notre agriculture presente ces deux corps, de montagnards, et de riverains, dans un etat de guerre continuelle, dans laquelle la fonction des loix fut, de couvrir de sa protection les premiers, qui, comme les plus foibles, en avoient le plus besoin. C'est de ces principes que nacquit la *Mesta* et ses privileges. L'ambition de les partager amena ensuite cette fameuse coalition, et cette ligue solemnelle, qui in 1556 reunit en un seul corps les montagnards et les riverains. Cette ligue inegale, désavantageuse aux premiers, qui allerent toujours en declinant, tandis que la faveur et les moyens des seconds augmentoit de jour en jour, devint bien funeste à la cause publique, parceque elle combina la richesse et le credit des riverains, avec l'industrie et la multitude des montagnards; et produisit enfin un corps de bergers, si enormement puissant qu'à force de sophismes et de reclamations, non seulement il parvint à exercer le monopole de toutes les herbes de la presqu'ile, mais il reussit encore à convertir en paturages les meilleures terres de labour, au grand detriment des troupeaux fixes, de l'agriculture, et de la population des campagnes.'

The miſchiefs ariſing from converting the whole country, during a conſiderable part of the year, into common land, for the benefit of the migrating ſheep, from fixing the price of provender for them on the road, and from the other privileges which the *Mesta* were enabled to engroſs, can be too eaſily conceived by the people of this country, to render it in any degree uſeful for us to follow minutely the criticiſms of Jovellanos. He mentions, however, one effect of this inſtitution, namely, an aggravation of the inequality of fortunes, which would not have naturally been conceived by a ſtranger, and which our author laments with an emphaſis, little to have been expected in a Spaniard, a man of rank and power, and a lawyer.

'Un autre abus,' says he, 'plus grave, plus urgent à reprimer, plus

plus pernicieux à l'agriculture, appelle actuellement la supreme attention du Conseil. On ne verroit pas regner parmi nous tant d'empressement à se trouver dans la confrairie de la *Mesta*, si nos loix, en facilitant d'un coté l'accumulation de la richesse entre les mains d'un petit nombre d'individus puissans, n'autorisoient en même temps d'un autre coté l'accumulation de la richesse territoriale en faveur de ces mêmes compagnies et de ces mêmes personnes; eloignant ainsi de plus en plus l'interet individuel de l'economie des troupeaux et de l'agriculture, elles detournent aussi les fonds et l'industrie de la nation, qui devroient les animer. La Societé, après avoir examiner ce nouveau mal à la lumiere de ses principes, presente au Conseil ses nombreuses consequences comme un effet de l'inegalité avec laquelle les loix ont distribué leur protection.'

The reflections which he immediately subjoins, discover a high degree of knowledge, joined to the nobleſt ſentiments of humanity. How rare is it to find, in any country, a man who has been ſubject to the corrupting influence of the ſcramble for place and power, from whoſe lips, or whoſe pen, reflections of the following nature may be expected to flow!

'Comme il est impossible,' he adds, 'de favoriser l'interet individuel, en lui accordant le droit d'aspirer à la proprieté territoriale, sans favoriser en même temps l'accumulation de cette richesse, il est egalement impossible de supposer cette accumulation sans reconnoitre cette inegalité de fortune, qui fonde et qui constitue la veritable origine de tant de vices et de tant de maux qui affligent les corps politiques.

'Dans ce sens, on ne sauroit nier, que l'accumulation de la richesse est un mal, mais outre que c'est un mal necessaire, le remede n'en est pas bien eloigné. Quand tout citoyen peut aspirer à la richesse, les vicissitudes naturelles de la fortune la font passer rapidement des unes aux autres: par consequent elle ne peut jamais etre immense, ni en quantité ni en durée, pour aucun individu. La même tendance qui entraine tout le monde vers cet objet, en multipliant les efforts multiplie les obstacles: et si, dans les progrès naturels de la liberté d'accumuler les distributions de la richesse, elle s'eloigne du niveau de l'egalité, elle devient du moins pour tous le prix de l'industrie, et le chatiment de la paresse.

'D'un autre coté, l'egalité des droits assure des effets salutaires. C'est elle, qui met les differentes classes de l'etat dans une dependance mutuelle et reciproque. C'est elle, qui les unit avec le lien puissant de l'interet mutuel. C'est cette gradation qui appelle les moindres citoyens à la richesse et aux honneurs. C'est elle, qui éveille et qui excite l'interet personel, qui anime son action, avec d'autant-plus de force, que l'egalité des droits fait partager à tous l'esperance du succès.—Ce ne sont donc pas ces loix qui occuperont inutilement l'attention de la Societé.'

We come now to an obſtacle raiſed by the laws, which Jovellanos

nos ſignalizes as one of the moſt powerful in retarding the progreſs of agriculture, and in which we ourſelves are equally concerned with the people of Spain. The circumſtance to which we allude, is the perpetuity of inheritance, without the power of alienation, in landed property, which the laws ſanction in behalf either of particular families, or of particular bodies. There are various ways in which the land was locked up from ſubdiviſion and from circulation in Spain; all of them partaking, more or leſs completely, of the nature of our laws of primogeniture and entail. Into the diſtinctions of theſe we need not enter. It ſuits our purpoſe better, to conſider the relations which are common to them all.

Of the evils which ſpring from theſe regulations reſpecting landed property, the genuine offspring of a barbarous and ſhort-ſighted age, that which is firſt ſelected by Jovellanos for denunciation, and which he regards as of principal malignity, is the enhancement of the price of land.

'Les terres,' says he, 'sont montées en Espagne à un prix scandaleux. Ce prix est un effet de leur rareté dans le commerce, et cette rareté derive principalement de l'enorme quantité de possessions territoriales, qui est tombée en main morte. Voila tout autant de veritès de fait, qui n'ont pas besoin de demonstration, et il ne reste plus qu' à presenter son influence sur l'agriculture.'

On this subject he appeals to the experience presented by the United States of America. There the facility with which land may be acquired attracts capital to agriculture. In Spain, and in the other countries of Europe, where land is accumulated in a few hands, and is raised, by excluding so much of it from circulation, to an enormous price, capital is banished from the cultivation of the ground. What a picture does he draw of the situation of Spain, under the baneful operation of this monopoly of her soil!

'Ce ne sont point ici,' says he, 'des exagerations de zele. Ce sont les consequences affligeantes, mais certaines, d'un systeme destructeur, dont le Conseil reconnoitra l'effet, en jettant seulement un regard sur nos provinces. Quelle est celle, où la majeure partie de la proprieté territoriale n'est pas tombé en main morte? Quelle est celle, où le prix des terres ne s'est point elevé à un taux si enorme qu'elles rendent à peine un demi pour cent? Quelle est celle, où les baux n'ont point monté à un prix scandaleux? Quelle est celle, où les heritages ne sont point ouverts, sans population, sans arbres, sans arrosages, et sans aucune espece d'amelioration? Quelle est celle, où l'agriculture n'est pas abandonnée à des colons pauvres et ignorans? Quelle est celle enfin, où le numeraire ne fuit pas les campagnes, pour chercher d'autres emplois plus lucratifs?'

It is undoubtedly true, that in a country where capital overflows, as in England, the expedient of leases, if wisely regulated, may,

may, to a considerable extent, supply to agriculture the means which are driven from it by primogenitureship and entails. It becomes in this manner again subdivided into portions which individual attention is competent to embrace. The magnitude of the produce is not such as to smother the feeling of individual interest in the minute improvements which the progress of any art requires; and if fair and ample security is provided for the enjoyment of that produce during a sufficient number of years, adequate motives are afforded for considerable exertions, and the application of considerable capital, to increase the productive powers of the soil.

The efficacy of these motives is witnessed, to no small extent, in England, and to a much greater extent in Scotland, where the tenure of the farmer is in general on a much better foundation. But how feeble, in all cases, must be the motives for exertion and expense, to increase the productive powers of the soil, where a man daily regards it as the property of another, and reflects, that the produce only of a few years must be the sole reward of his labours and risk, while the permanent benefit departs from him to a stranger! How feeble, even in their most perfect form, the motives of this man, to the motives of him who regards the soil he is improving as his own, and considers, that the benefit of his exertions may redound to his latest posterity! What other cause can be assigned for the small progress which England has made in agriculture, compared with that which she has made in manufactures and commerce? What other cause can be assigned, why, supplying half the world with manufactures, she supplies not herself with bread? What other cause can be assigned, why every branch of her mercantile establishment, gigantic as it is, overflows with capital, while capital cannot be found to cultivate the waste lands which disfigure so many of her provinces? Our own empire supplies us with a most remarkable fact, in confirmation of these inferences. How does it happen that the cultivation of the ground in the West Indies has been enabled to draw such masses of capital from commerce itself? And how does it happen that the cultivator there exhibits an intensity of zeal and exertion so much beyond what is witnessed in Europe? The only answer is, that the cultivator there is at once the cultivator and the owner of the soil; every improvement which he makes is exclusively his own; he is enabled to borrow capital by giving security upon his estate; and the rapid circulation of estates from hand to hand, enlivens his activity, and accommodates him in every change of circumstances. Entirely similar is the operation of similar causes in the United States of America; nor can it reasonably be doubted, that similar effects would flow from them in Europe.

In

In touching, however, upon the monopoly of the soil, the most baneful of all monopolies, established to so destructive an extent in Spain, Jovellanos was aware that he was treading upon tender ground. The church, in particular, whose jealousies are so easily awakened, and in whose hands so great a portion of the soil of Spain was inalienably locked, he endeavours to induce, by many soothing persuasions, to submit, as far as her concern in the monopoly extended, to some gentle relaxations. One argument in favour of the established policy was, that it was necessary for the maintenance of the order of nobility. This it seems was a point, in Spain, more sacred than that of the church itself. Accordingly, Jovellanos by no means takes upon him to advance a word towards impairing the monopoly of the soil, as far as the nobility themselves could be supposed to think it necessary for the maintenance of their order. With many expressions of profound respect, he only ventures to insinuate, that if the law of primogeniture and entails be adverse to agriculture, though it be necessary for the maintenance of the nobility, it ought not to be extended beyond the nobility; but that landed property, in all hands that are not noble, should be restored to the natural principles of subdivision and circulation.

But it was not merely by bad laws respecting the property of the *soil* that Jovellanos found agriculture retarded in Spain: the laws respecting the property of the *fruits* of the soil were no less barbarous, and no less fatal in their operation. By this he means distinctively the property of the farmer, of which he speaks in the following enlightened terms.

'Les fruits de la terre etant le produit immediat du travail, et formant l'unique proprieté du colon, cette proprieté sacrée est d'autant plus digne de protection aux yeux de la loi, que d'une part elle represente la subsistance de la plus grande et de la plus precieuse partie des individus de l'etat; tandis que d'un autre coté elle constitue l'unique recompense de leur sueur et de leurs fatigues. Personne ne la doit à la fortune, ni au hasard de la naissance; chacun la tire immediatement de son genie et de son application. Elle est en outre tres-incertaine et tres-precaire, parcequ'elle depend en grande partie de l'influence du climat, et des variations de l'atmosphere. Il est donc certain, qu'elle reunit en sa faveur tous les titres qui peuvent la rendre recommendable à la justice et à l'humanité du gouvernement. Ce n'est pas seulement le cultivateur qui est interessé à la protection de cette proprieté, c'est egalement le proprietaire, parce que ses produits se divisent naturellement entre le maitre et les cultivateurs.'

One is pleased to find, amid these representations and expostulations of Jovellanos, that even in Spain certain reforms had actually been carried into effect. He congratulates himself, for example, that

that amid 'la serie immense de loix, d'ordonnances et de reglemens, qui ont offensé et restreint la libre disposition des produits de la terre,' he has no longer to complain of the tax on grain—now, says he, banished for ever from our police and legislation. 'Mais cette loi,' continues he, 'une fois supprimée, et la taxe de grains pour toujours abolie, comment peut-on laisser subsister sur les autres fruits de la terre une taxe d'autant plus pernicieuse, qu'elle n'est pas reglée par l'equité et la sagesse du legislateur, mais par la fantaisie momentanée des juges municipaux?'—A tax upon all the fruits of the earth, with the sole exception of grain, regulated, not by the equity and wisdom of the legislator, but by the momentary caprice of the municipal judges, was still a tolerable allowance of abuse. In fact, the municipal bodies in Spain possessed the same monopoly in the fruits of the ground, and the same power of fixing their price, as we lately had the mortification, in our account of the performance of Mr Leckie, to contemplate, in the destructive hands of the municipal bodies of Sicily.

One fact is mentioned by Jovellanos, in demonstration of the effects of these arbitrary regulations, which alone speaks volumes. It is well known to be one of the natural attendants on a very imperfect state of agriculture, such as that of Spain, to afford certain articles in extraordinary abundance, and, by necessary consequence, extraordinarily cheap. Of these, poultry, which during that state of agriculture forms part of the family of the poorest man, and finds the greatest part of its food independently of expense, constitutes a remarkable instance. It is therefore wonderful to learn, that the city of Madrid is actually supplied with eggs from France! Hear Jovellanos himself on the causes of this characteristic and melancholy circumstance.

'C'est à ces reglemens' (the wretched powers entrusted to the provincial magistrates) 'qu'on doit attribuer en grande partie la disette de certains articles de production facile, et de consommation ordinaire. Le paysan ne trouvant aucun benefice à les vendre à un prix ordinaire, et eloigné des marchés par les vexations qu'il y rencontre, prend le parti de ne plus les cultiver. Deux ou trois exemples suffisent pour l'en degouter à jamais, et pour fixer les objets de la culture et de l'economie d'une province entiere. Qui pourra assigner une autre cause à la honteuse necessité où nous avons été pendant quelque tems de faire venir les œufs de France, pour l'approvisionnement de la ville de Madrid?'

Omitting, as we are obliged to do, the numerous and important details of our author on the restraints and oppressions to which the cultivator in Spain is exposed, who is even deprived of the freedom of trade from province to province within his own country, we cannot forbear adverting to a few of the observations, in the work before us, on the mischiefs inflicted on agriculture by the

the taxes on Spain. We shall not stop to consider the author's demonstrations and remonstrances relative to the shameful inequalities in the system of Spanish taxation, by which the higher classes, among whom the nobility and clergy, as usual, and as we could not but have expected, stand principally distinguished, have their shoulders eased of the burden, by shifting the greater part of it to the shoulders of the poor husbandman. The picture, however, which Jovellanos draws of the direct oppressions to which the owners of the produce of the soil are exposed, is too remarkable, and too full of instruction, not to be presented, in part, to the consideration of our countrymen.

'Quatriemement,' says he, 'il est aisé de voir jusqu'à quel point l'influence des impositions provinciales doit etre nuisible à l'agriculture par l'extension avec laquelle elles embrassent tous les produits. Les principales, et les plus precieuses, comme l'huile, le vin, et la viande, sont assujetties aux *millions*, tandis que l'*alcavale*, atteint jusqu'aux plus minutieuses, telles que les fruits, les legumes, le jardinage et la volaille. Qu'on juge de l'effet de ce mode d'imposition, par la repetition avec laquelle les produits de la terre se trouvent successivement grevés directment ou indirectment. Les troupeaux, par exemple, payent sur la pâture dans les loyers des prairies, auquel on n'a donné le nom de vente des herbes que pour l'assujettir à l'alcavale. Le bétail paye ensuite une nouvelle contribution, a chaque vente et révente, dans les foires et marchés, et la viande paye encore lors qu'elle est vendue pour la consommation. De maniere que ces impôts, suisissant les produits de la terre au moment de leur naissance, les poursuivent et les atteignent dans toute leur circulation, sans jamais perdre de vue ni lâcher leur proie, jusqu'au dernier instant de son existence.'

After a variety of observations on the particular abuses which he selects as specimens of that corrupt system he wanted to reform, he sums up his conclusions on the baneful effects of the taxes, in the following terms.

'Sans compter donc ce que coutent à l'etat, et par consequent à ces membres, les innombrables legions d'administrateurs, de visiteurs, de sergents, de gardes, qu'exige le recouvrement des impositions provinciales; sans compter le trouble, et l'inquiétude continuelle dans lequel elles entretiennent le cultivateur, qui peut ni faire un pas ni s'arreter sans etre environné des commis et de satellites; sans compter les vexations qui derivent de l'odieuse police des registres, visites, guides, taxes, et autres formalités; sans compter l'oppression du citoyen, avili par les denonciations, procedures, arrestations, detentions, aux quelles donnent lieu la plus petite et quelquefois la plus innocente fraude; enfin, sans compter tout ce que la liberté du commerce et la circulation interieure souffre d'un systeme si erroné, ce que nous venons de dire suffit pour demontrer, que nos loix fiscales,

examinées dans leur rapport avec l'agriculture, présentent un des obstacles le plus puissant à l'interet de ses agents, et par consequent à sa prosperité.'

2. Such is a specimen of the important instructions which Jovellanos offered to his countrymen, or to their government, respecting the obstacles opposed to the progress of agriculture by bad laws and political institutions. The obstacles arising from wrong opinions, is the second class he takes into consideration. In regard to so much of the mass of these as are entertained by the government, the second class of the obstructions of agriculture coincides with the first; since, to the wrong opinions of this small, but effective body, bad laws and bad political institutions are to be traced. One opinion, however, of very extensive influence in most, if not all the countries of Europe, is common both to governors and people,—that in the work of enriching a nation, commerce is far more efficacious than agriculture. This opinion, the groundwork of what Dr Smith denominates the mercantile system, which long guided, and still, in many important points, guides the economical policy of the countries of Europe, and of Great Britain among the rest,—Jovellanos traces (and probably, in its origin, with justice) to the *mania* of imitation caught from the flourishing republics of Italy and Germany in the middle ages. The Spaniards, however, have not reasoned upon it exactly as the politicians of this country have done. For example, they prohibit the exportation of the raw produce of the soil, and encourage the importation; and even Jovellanos himself thinks them right in prohibiting the exportation of corn. The British legislators, on the other hand, grant a bounty on the exportation of corn, and impose a duty on the importation always, at least unless when the price is very high. The wise proceeding would probably be, in regard either to Britain or Spain, to let the nation export, when it found it for its interest to export; and to import, when it found it for its interest to import; and to trust to it as being the best judge of its own interest, in this, as in all similar cases. The subject is too extensive for us to enter upon any controverted ground; but this being one of the few cases in which we have found our author involved in an erroneous train of thought, it was necessary thus far to mark our dissent from it.

The wrong opinions, however, belonging to the more immediate agents of agriculture, form the principal source of the class of errors which our author is now considering. His disquisition on this subject is one of the most gratifying that has presented itself to our notice. Ignorance is the fruitful mother to whom he traces, as her legitimate progeny, all the evils which fall to be considered under this

this head; and which are neither few nor small. Where, he asks—in what country has not agriculture remained in improvement behind the other great branches of art? The reason is, that it is an art more difficult to be carried on, without certain portions of knowledge and understanding, than those which admit of greater subdivision and simplicity; for, as Jovellanos very justly observes, 'l'agriculture est bien moins un art, qu'une admirable reunion 'de plusieurs arts très distingués.' He remarks, accordingly, —what is so worthy of remark everywhere else, as well as in Spain, though it has hitherto attracted anywhere so little of the attention which it deserves,—how formidable, and frequently how effectual a resistance is presented to the improver in agriculture, by the blind prejudices and coarse indocility of the labouring husbandman; who, from ignorance, and from mental inaction, is wedded to the practices to which he has been accustomed, and can accommodate neither his hand nor his mind to any process that is new. Whoever bestows due attention on the variety of operations in which the most ordinary agent in the business of agriculture must be employed, and the various kinds of knowledge which it is necessary for him to possess, will easily see, that to render him a proper instrument in an actively improving, and by consequence a changing agriculture, his mind must be rendered alert and pliant by education, sufficiently enlightened to believe that improvements may be made, and to think that it is not unworthy of him to second the wishes of the improver. In what a favourable situation for progress in agriculture would that country be placed, which should possess a peasantry thus qualified and disposed,—where the principal instrument, the principal machine of the art, was of so admirable a temper and mould,—it is surely unnecessary to explain; as, on the other hand, every man, by whom any striking improvements in agriculture have been attempted, bears loud and voluntary testimony to the difficulties he experienced, partly from the aversion, and partly from the incapacity of the agents he had to employ.

Jovellanos is of opinion, that one of the best expedients for transmitting knowledge to the labourers in the soil, is to communicate it first to the proprietors of the soil. He marks, with profound indignation and contempt, the existing state of education in Spain.

'Quel abandon deplorable,' he cries, 'dans notre systeme d'instruction publique. Il semble que nous avons pris à tache de negliger les objets d'instructions utiles et de multiplier les instituts des connoissances inutiles .... Les sciences ont cessé d'etre pour nous un moyen de chercher la verité, et sont devenu une ressource pour trouver de quoi vivre. Le nombre des etudians s'est accru avec l'imperfection des etudes; et de meme que ces insectes qui, naissant

de la putrefaction, servent à la propager, les theologiens scholastiques, juristes, casuistes, et tous les mauvais professeurs des facultés intellectuelles, envelopperent dans leur corruption les principes, le gout, et jusqu'au souvenir des sciences utiles.'

For explaining what he considered necessary to be done towards imparting a knowledge of the useful and experimental sciences to the class of owners of the soil, he returns again and again to the incurable vices of the system of education, which had been set up in the ages of darkness, and transmitted, by means of the obstinate resistance to change in the agents employed, with little or no improvement to the present day.

'La Societé,' says he, 'ne proposera pas d'aggreger cette espèce d'enseignement au plan de nos universités; tant qu'elles seront encore ce quelles sont, et ce quelles ont toujours été jusqu'à present, tant qu'elles seront dominées par l'esprit scholastique, jamais les sciences experimentales ne pourront germer auprès d'elles. Des objets distincts, un caractere different, une autre methode, et un esprit opposé animent les unes et les autres, les separent, et les rendent incompatibles entre elles. Une longue et triste experience a confirmé cette verité.' He even proceeds so far as to say, that to found a system of education any thing like complete, ('ce point,' he observes, 'si digne de nos desirs) il faudra debuter par un renversement total de la forme et du systeme actuel de nos ecoles generales.'

After a variety of details, into which we are sorry that we cannot enter, respecting the plan for instructing the proprietors of the soil, he comes to the highly important case of the labourers. On this point, unfortunately, the numbers among ourselves are not few who have much to learn from the Spanish statesman.

'Le second moyen,' says he, 'de rapprocher la science de l'interet, consiste dans l'instruction des laboureurs. Ce seroit une chose ridicule, que de vouloir les assujettir à l'etude des sciences; mais il est tres-raisonable de chercher à les mettre à même de profiter de leurs resultats; et voila à quoi se reduit notre desir. L'entreprise est grande par son objet, mais simple et facile dans ses moyens; il ne s'agit que de diminuer l'ignorance des laboureurs, ou pour mieux dire de multiplier, et de perfectionner les organes de leur entendement.'

It is objected, however, by those who have unfortunately taken up prejudices against the people, that it is impossible to make useful knowledge descend to them. Jovellanos leaves not this misapprehension without its answer.

'Quand,' says he, 'les proprietaires possederont les sciences utiles, ne doit-on pas esperer que leur interet, peut-être meme leur vanité, les engagera à faire des essais dans leurs terres, et à appliquer à leur culture les connoissances dues à leur etude, les nouvelles decouvertes, et les nouvelles methodes adoptées dans les autres pays? Et quand ils l'auront fait avec fruit, ne devra-t-on pas esperer egalement;

ment; que leurs conseils et leur exemple persuaderont leurs fermiers, et les feront participer à leurs ameliorations?

'On suppose que le laboureur est esclave des prejugés, qu'il a reçus par tradition, et il l'est sans doute, parcequ'il ne peut ceder à d'autres leçons qu'à celles qui lui entrent par les yeux; mais par la meme raison n'est il pas plus docile à cette espece de combinaison qui anime et augmente son interet? L'orgueil des savans lui refuse jusqu'à cette docilité; mais qu'on fasse attention un moment à la grande masse des connoissances, que l'agriculture a reunie, meme dans la portion la plus stupide de ses agens; et on reconnoitra tout ce que doit dans tous les pays l'agriculture à la docilité des laboureurs.'

He brings to the support of the same interesting proposition, truths of a still more general nature.

'Il est impossible,' he says, 'qu'une nation possede les sciences dans un certain degré d'etendue, sans qu'une partie de leurs lumieres se repande jusqu'à la plus basse classe du peuple; parceque, s'il est permis de s'exprimer ainsi, le fluide de la science se repand d'une classe à l'autre, et se simplifiant, se divisant toujours d'avantage dans son cours, s'accommode enfin à l'intelligence des esprits les plus simples et les plus rebelles. Par ce moyen, le laboureur et l'artisan, sans penetrer le jargon mysterieux du chimiste, dans l'analyse des marnes, ni le raisonnement du naturaliste dans la recherche hardie du tems et des moyens de leur formation, connoissent leur utilité pour l'amelioration des terres et le degraissement des draps. C'est à dire qu'ils connoissent tout ce que la science a enseigné d'utile sur les marnes.'

When he comes to consider the degree of positive instruction, not which *ought* to be given to the people—for they ought to receive as much possible—but which *can* be given to them, without sacrificing other objects of still more imperious necessity, he says,

'La Societé ne sollicite pour eux, que la connoissance des premieres lettres, c'est à dire, qu'ils sachent lire, ecrire, et compter. Quel champ immense ces connoissances simples et sublimes n'ouvrent-elles pas à l'esprit humain? Cette instruction si necessaire à tout individu pour perfectionner les facultés de la raison et de son âme, si avantageuse à tout pere de famille pour conduire les affaires de la vie civile et domestique, si importante à tout gouvernement pour ameliorer l'esprit et le cœur des citoyens, est celle que la Societé reclame, et qui suffira pour mettre le laboureur, ainsi que les autres classes laborieuses en etat de concevoir, non seulement les verités sublimes de la religion et de la morale; mais encore les principes simples et clairs de la physique, qui conduisent à la perfection des arts. Il suffira que les resultats et les decouvertes, dans les sciences les plus compliquées, soient depouillés de l'apparat ou du jargon scientifique, et reduites à des propositions claires et simples pour etre comprises par l'homme le plus grossier, quand on aura perfectionné les organes de son entendement.

'Que Votre Altesse (it is thus the Councils of State are addressed in Spain) daigne par consequent multiplier par tout l'enseignement des premieres lettres; qu'il n'y ait ni bourg, ni village, ni paroisse, qui en soit privé; qu'il n'y ait aucun individu, quelque miserable qu'il soit, qui ne puisse recevoir facilement et gratuitement cette instruction. Quand la nation ne devroit pas ce secours à tous ses membres, comme l'acte le plus signalé de sa protection, elle se le devroit à elle-meme, comme le moyen le plus simple d'augmenter sa gloire et sa puissance. N'est-ce pas en effet le plus honteux temoignage de notre insouciance, que de voir dans l'abandon et dans l'oubli une branche d'instruction si generale, et si avantageuse, tandis que nous protegeons avec tant d'ardeur les instituts des sciences partielles, inutiles, ou dangereuses.'

We are obliged, though reluctantly, to omit the expedients proposed by our author for accomplishing the great objects here proposed. And we are not unwilling to leave the enlightened and philanthropic reflections of this real philosopher and statesman, without any commentary, to the meditations of those among us, who are still as far behind him in knowledge as humanity.

3. As to the physical obstacles which Spain presents to the progress of agriculture, the observations of Jovellanos are confined within narrow compass. Nature, he remarks, has been liberal to Spain; but the inhabitants have not seconded the bounty of nature. The climate of Spain is in general dry. The neglect of irrigation he therefore stigmatizes as one of the vices of the people; though he grants that the difficulties attending this improvement, is one of the physical obstacles peculiar to Spain, which the husbandman is called upon to overcome. The different provinces of Spain being extremely different in their soil, climate, and by consequence in their produce—articles, must very frequently be raised in one province, which are required for the supply of a very distant province. This renders good roads, navigable canals, and other channels of communication, peculiarly necessary; yet no country is more wretchedly provided with them. Of physical obstacles, there are many in Spain, as well as other countries, which, from their magnitude, or from the extent of their influence, it peculiarly belongs to government to remove. Jovellanos remarks, that governments would never want funds for such useful purposes, did they not waste so much in ways that are useless, and often in such as are pernicious. He would like to see established in every country a fund, to be denominated the *amelioration fund*, for the express purpose of aiding, as far as government is competent to aid, the progress of agriculture, and the other useful arts.

Such are the instructions, the censures and expostulations, which this Spanish philosopher and patriot deemed fit a few years ago

ago to address to his countrymen. It has been our principal object to exhibit as distinct a view as possible of a work, presenting so many claims to attention; and, for that purpose, we have restrained ourselves from those reflections, in which the interest of the topics introduced would otherwise have prompted us to indulge. There are a few questions, however, which we are irresistibly tempted to ask.

How many years, for example, have gone by, since we received a book of this nature and utility from any statesman or minister of justice in our own country?

Did Jovellanos perform a more patriotic service, by exposing openly, and censuring the errors and abuses by which his country suffered, than he would have done, had he, by palliations, by sophistry and excuses, endeavoured to make it appear that she was suffering from no errors and abuses? And if such a conduct was patriotic in Spain, may it not be so in other countries, —in Great Britain for example?

Whether there are any errors and abuses in Great Britain of a similar, or of any other description? or, whether there are none —and hence all writers of the censorial character, like Jovellanos, unnecessary?

Whether it were useful in Spain, that the owners and cultivators of the ground should be well instructed; but not at all useful in Great Britain? Or whether Jovellanos was entirely mistaken,—it being useful in no country?

Whether Jovellanos, who censured the bad institutions of his country, or the Prince of the Peace who punished those who censured them, was the greatest patriot? Whether there is any other country, where those who thus censure, and those who thus punish, are in situations analogous?

To conclude with a reflection of a different description.—Among a people subject to the minute and incessant oppression which we here perceive the peasantry in Spain endured, could the flame of patriotism catch in such a degree, as to make them perfect heroes in defence of the very government under which they had suffered?—A valuable fragment, from the hand of the same Jovellanos, which Lord Holland has done us the service to present to us in the Appendix (No. 2.) to his Life of Lope de Vega, is highly worthy of being taken into the account, in making up our minds on this question.

ART. III. *Strictures on two Critiques in the Edinburgh Review, on the Subject of Methodism and Missions; with Remarks on the Influence of Reviews, in general, on Morals and Happiness.* By John Styles. 8vo. London. 1809.

IN routing out a neſt of conſecrated coblers, and in bringing to light ſuch a perilous heap of traſh as we were obliged to work through, in our articles upon the Methodiſts and Miſſionaries, we are generally conceived to have rendered an uſeful ſervice to the cauſe of rational religion. Every one, however, at all acquainted with the true character of Methodiſm, muſt have known the extent of the abuſe and miſrepreſentation to which we expoſed ourſelves in ſuch a ſervice. All this obloquy, however, we were very willing to encounter, from our conviction of the neceſſity of expoſing and correcting the growing evil of fanaticiſm. In ſpite of all miſrepreſentation, we have ever been, and ever ſhall be, the ſincere friends of ſober and rational Chriſtianity. We are quite ready, if any fair opportunity occur, to defend it, to the beſt of our ability, from the tiger-ſpring of infidelity; and we are quite determined, if we can prevent ſuch an evil, that it ſhall not be eaten up by the naſty and numerous vermin of Methodiſm. For this purpoſe, we ſhall proceed to make a few ſhort remarks upon the ſacred and ſilly gentleman before us,—not, certainly, becauſe we feel any ſort of anxiety as to the effect of his ſtrictures on our own credit or reputation, but becauſe his direct and articulate defence of the principles and practices which we have condemned, affords us the faireſt opportunity of expoſing, ſtill more clearly, both the extravagance and the danger of theſe popular ſectaries.

Theſe very impudent people have one ruling canon, which pervades every thing they ſay and do. *Whoever is unfriendly to Methodism, is an infidel and an atheist.* This reaſonable and amiable maxim, repeated in every form of dulneſs, and varied in every attitude of malignity, is the ſum and ſubſtance of Mr Styles's pamphlet. Whoever wiſhes to reſcue religion from the hands of didactic artiſans,—whoever prefers a reſpectable clergyman for his teacher, to a delirious mechanic;—whoever wiſhes to keep the intervals between churches and lunatic aſylums as wide as poſſible,—all ſuch men, in the eſtimation of Mr Styles, are nothing better than open or concealed enemies of Chriſtianity. His catechiſm is very ſimple. In what hoy do you navigate? By what ſhoemaker or carpenter are you inſtructed? What miracles have you to relate? Do you think it ſinful *to reduce Providence to an alternative?* &c. &c. &c. Now, if we were to content ourſelves with uſing to Mr Styles, while he is dealing about his imputations of infidelity, the uncourtly language which

which is sometimes applied to those who are little curious about truth or falsehood, what Methodist would think the worse of him for such an attack? Who is there among them that would not glory to lie for the tabernacle? Who that would not believe he was pleasing his Maker, by sacrificing truth, justice and common sense, to the interests of his own little chapel, and his own deranged instructor? Something more than contradiction or confutation, therefore, is necessary to discredit those charitable dogmatists, and to diminish their pernicious influence;—and the first accusation against us is, that we have endeavoured to add ridicule to reasoning.

We are a good deal amused, indeed, with the extreme disrelish which Mr John Styles exhibits to the humour and pleasantry with which he admits the Methodists to have been attacked; but Mr John Styles should remember, that it is not the practice with destroyers of vermin to allow the little victims a *veto* upon the weapons used against them. If this were otherwise, we should have one set of vermin banishing small-tooth combs; another protesting against mouse-traps; a third prohibiting the finger and thumb; a fourth exclaiming against the intolerable infamy of using soap and water. It is impossible, however, to listen to such pleas. They must all be caught, killed and cracked, in the manner, and by the instruments which are found most efficacious to their destruction; and the more they cry out, the greater plainly is the skill used against them. We are convinced a little laughter will do them more harm than all the arguments in the world. Such men as the author before us cannot understand when they are outargued; but he has given us a specimen, from his irritability, that he fully comprehends when he has become the object of universal contempt and derision. We agree with him, that ridicule is not exactly the weapon to be used in matters of religion; but the use of it is excusable, when there is no other which can make fools tremble. Besides, he should remember the particular sort of ridicule we have used, which is nothing more than accurate quotation from the Methodists themselves. It is true, that this is the most severe and cutting ridicule to which we could have had recourse; but, whose fault is that?

Nothing can be more disingenuous than the attacks Mr Styles has made upon us for our use of Scripture language. *Light and grace* are certainly terms of Scripture. It is not to the words themselves that any ridicule can ever attach. It is from the preposterous application of those words, in the mouths of the most arrogant and ignorant of human beings;—it is from their use in the most trivial, low, and familiar scenes of life;—it is from the illiterate and ungrammatical prelacy of Mr John Styles, that any

tinge

tinge of ridicule ever is or ever can be imparted to the sacred language of Scripture.

We admit also, with this gentleman, that it would certainly evince the most vulgar and contracted heart, to ridicule any religious opinions, methodistical or otherwise, because they were the opinions of the poor, and were conveyed in the language of the poor. But are we to respect the poor, when they wish to step out of their province, and become the teachers of the land?—when men, whose proper 'talk is of bullocks, pretend to have wisdom and understanding,' is it not lawful to tell them they have none? An ironmonger is a very respectable man, so long as he is merely an ironmonger,—an admirable man if he is a religious ironmonger; but a great blockhead, if he sets up for a bishop or a dean, and lectures upon theology. It is not the poor we have attacked,—but the writing poor, the publishing poor,—the limited arrogance which mistakes its own trumpery sect for the world: nor have we attacked them for want of talent, but for want of modesty, want of sense, and want of true rational religion, —for every fault which Mr John Styles defends and exemplifies.

It is scarcely possible to reduce the drunken declamations of Methodism to a point, to grasp the wriggling lubricity of these cunning animals, and to fix them in one position. We have said, in our review of the Methodists, that it is extremely wrong to suppose that Providence interferes with special and extraordinary judgments on every trifling occasion of life; that to represent an innkeeper killed for preventing a Methodist meeting, or loud claps of thunder rattling along the heavens, merely to hint to Mr Scott that he was not to preach at a particular tabernacle in Oxford-road, appeared to us to be blasphemous and mischievous nonsense. With great events, which change the destiny of mankind, we might suppose such interference, the discovery of which, upon every trifling occasion, we considered to be pregnant with very mischievous consequences.—To all which Mr Styles replies, that, with Providence, nothing is great, or nothing little,—nothing difficult, or nothing easy; that a worm and a whale are equal in the estimation of a Supreme Being.—But did any human being but a Methodist, and a third or fourth-rate Methodist, ever make such a reply to such an argument? We are not talking of what is great or important to Providence, but to us. The creation of a worm or a whale, a Newton or a Styles, are tasks equally easy to Omnipotence. But are they, in their results, equally important to us? The lightning may as easily strike the head of the French emperor, as of an innocent cottager; but we are surely neither impious or obscure, when we say, that one would be an important interference of Providence, and the other comparatively not so. But it is a loss of time to reply to such trash; it presents

sents no stimulus of difficulty to us; nor would it offer any of novelty to our readers.

To our attack upon the melancholy tendency of Methodism, Mr Styles replies, 'That a man must have studied in the *schools of Hume, Voltaire, and Kotzebue,* who can plead in behalf of the theatre; that, at fashionable ball-rooms and assemblies, seduction is drawn out to a system; that dancing excites the fever of the passions, and raises a delirium too often fatal to innocence and peace; and that, for the poor, instead of the common rough amusements to which they are now addicted, there remain the simple beauties of nature, the gay colours, and scented perfumes of the earth.' These are the blessings which the common people have to expect from their Methodistical instructors. They are pilfered of all their money,—shut out from all their dances and country wakes,—and are then sent pennyless into the fields, to gaze on the clouds, and smell to dandelions!

Against the orthodox clergy of all descriptions, our sour devotee proclaims, as was to have been expected, the most implacable war,—declaring, that, '*in one century, they would have obliterated all the remaining practical religion in the church, had it not been for this new sect, every where spoken against.*' Undoubtedly, the distinction of mankind into godly and ungodly—if by godly is really meant those who apply religion to the extinction of bad passions—would be highly desirable. But when, by that word, is only intended a sect more desirous of possessing the appellation, than of deserving it,—when, under that term, are comprehended thousands of canting hypocrites and raving enthusiasts—men despicable from their ignorance, and formidable from their madness,—the distinction may hereafter prove to be truly terrific; and a dynasty of fools may again sweep away both church and state in one hideous ruin. There may be, at present, some very respectable men at the head of these maniacs, who would insanify them with some degree of prudence, and keep them only half mad, if they could. But this won't do; Bedlam will break loose, and overpower its keepers. If the preacher sees visions, and has visitations, the clerk will come next, and then the congregation: every man will be his own prophet, and dream dreams for himself: the competition in extravagance will be hot and lively, and the whole island a receptacle for incurables. There is, at this moment, a man in London who prays for what garments he wants, and finds them next morning in his room, tight and fitting. This man, as might be expected, gains between two and three thousand a year from the common people, by preaching. Anna, the prophetess, encamps in the woods of America with thirteen or fourteen thousand followers, and has visits every night from the prophet *Elijah. Joanna*

anna Southcote raises the dead, &c. &c. Mr Styles will call us atheists, and disciples of the French school, for what we are about to say; but it is our decided opinion, that there is some fraud in the prophetic visit; and it is but too probable, that the clothes are merely human, and the man measured for them in the common way. When such blasphemous deceptions are practised upon mankind, how can remonstrance be misplaced, or exposure mischievous? If the choice rested with us, we should say,—give us back our wolves again,—restore our Danish invaders,—curse us with any evil, but the evil of a canting, deluded, and Methodistical populace. Wherever Methodism extends its baneful influence, the character of the English people is constantly changed by it. Boldness and rough honesty are broken down into meanness, prevarication, and fraud.

While Mr Styles is so severe upon the indolence of the Church, he should recollect that his Methodists are the ex-party; that it is not in human nature, that any persons who quietly possess power, can be as active as those who are pursuing it. The fair way to state the merit of the two parties is, to estimate what the exertions of the lacrymal and suspirious clergy would be, if they stepped into the endowments of their competitors. The moment they ceased to be paid by the groan,—the instant that Easter offerings no longer depended upon jumping and convulsions,—Mr Styles may assure himself, that the character of his darling preachers would be totally changed; their bodies would become quiet, and their minds reasonable.

It is not true, as this bad writer is perpetually saying, that the world hates piety. That modest and unobtrusive piety, which fills the heart with all human charities, and makes a man gentle to others, and severe to himself, is an object of universal love and veneration. But mankind hate the lust of power, when it is veiled under the garb of piety;—they hate canting and hypocrisy;—they hate advertisers and quacks in piety;—they do not choose to be insulted;—they love to tear folly and impudence from that altar, which should only be a sanctuary for the wretched and the good.

Having concluded his defence of Methodism, this fanatical writer opens upon us his Missionary battery, firing away with the most incessant fury, and calling names, all the time, as loud as lungs accustomed to the eloquence of the tub usually vociferate. In speaking of the cruelties which their religion entails upon the Hindoos, Mr Styles is peculiarly severe upon us for not being more shocked at their piercing their limbs with *kimes*. This is rather an unfair mode of alarming his readers with the idea of some unknown instrument. He represents himself as having paid considerable attention to the manners and customs of the Hindoos;

doos; and, therefore, the peculiar stress he lays upon this instrument, is naturally calculated to produce, in the minds of the humane, a great degree of mysterious terror. A drawing of the *kime* was imperiously called for; and the want of it is a subtle evasion, for which Mr Styles is fairly accountable. As he has been silent on this subject, it is for us to explain the plan and nature of this terrible and unknown piece of mechanism. A *kime*, then, is neither more nor less than a false print in the Edinburgh Review for a *knife;* and from this blunder of the printer has Mr Styles manufactured this Dædalean instrument of torture, called a *kime!* We were at first nearly persuaded by his arguments against *kimes*; —we grew frightened;—we stated to ourselves the horror of not sending missionaries to a nation which used *kimes;*—we were struck with the nice and accurate information of the Tabernacle upon this important subject:—But we looked in the errata, and found Mr Styles to be always Mr Styles,—always cut off from every hope of mercy, and remaining for ever himself.

Mr Styles is right in saying we have abolished many practices of the Hindoos since the establishment of our empire; but then we have always consulted the Bramins, whether or not such practices were conformable to their religion; and it is upon the authority of their condemnation, that we have proceeded to abolition.

To the whole of Mr Styles's observations upon the introduction of Christianity into India, we have one short answer:—it is not Christianity which is introduced there, but the debased mummery and nonsense of Methodists, which has little more to do with the Christian religion, than it has to do with the religion of China. We would as soon consent, that *Brodum* and *Solomon* should carry the medical art of Europe into India, as that Mr Styles and his Anabaptists should give to the Eastern World their notions of our religion. We send men of the highest character for the administration of justice and the regulation of trade,—nay, we take great pains to impress upon the minds of the natives the highest ideas of our arts and manufactures, by laying before them the finest specimens of our skill and ingenuity. Why, then, are common sense and decency to be forgotten in religion alone? and so foolish a set of men allowed to engage themselves in this occupation, that the natives almost instinctively duck and pelt them? But the missionaries, we are told, have mastered the languages of the East. They may also, for ought we know, in the same time, have learnt perspective astronomy, or any thing else. What is all this to us? Our charge is, that they want sense, conduct and sound religion; and that, if they are not watched, the throat of every European in India will be cut:—

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the answer to which is, that their progress in languages is truly astonishing! If they expose us to imminent peril, what matters it if they have every virtue under heaven? We are not writing dissertations upon the intellect of Brother Carey, but stating his character so far as it concerns us, and caring for it no further. But these pious gentlemen care nothing about the loss of the country. The plan, it seems, is this.—We are to educate India in Christianity, as a parent does his child; and when it is perfect in its catechism, then to pack up, quit it entirely, and leave it to its own management. This is the evangelical project for separating a colony from the parent country. They see nothing of the bloodshed, and massacres and devastations, nor of the speeches in Parliament, squandered millions, fruitless expeditions, jobs and pensions, with which the loss of our Indian possessions would necessarily be accompanied; nor will they see that these consequences could arise from the *attempt*, and not from the completion of their scheme of conversion. We should be swept from the peninsula by Pagan zealots; and should lose, among other things, all chance of ever really converting them.

What is the use, too, of telling us what these men endure? Suffering is not a merit, but only useful suffering. Prove to us that they are fit men, doing a fit thing, and we are ready to praise the missionaries; but it gives us no pleasure to hear that a man has walked a thousand miles with peas in his shoes, unless we know why, and wherefore, and to what good purpose he has done it.

But these men, it is urged, foolish and extravagant as they are, may be very useful precursors of the established clergy. This is much as if a regular physician should send a quack doctor before him, and say, do you go and look after this disease for a day or two, and ply the patient well with your nostrums, and then I will step in and complete the cure;—a more notable expedient we have seldom heard of. Its patrons forget that these self-ordained ministers, with Mr John Styles at their head, abominate the established clergy ten thousand times more than they do Pagans, who cut themselves with cruel *kimes*. The efforts of these precursors would be directed with infinitely more zeal to make the Hindoos disbelieve in Bishops, than to make them believe in Christ. The darling passion in the soul of every missionary is, not to teach the great leading truths of the Christian faith, but to enforce the little paltry modification and distinction which he first taught from his own tub. And then what a way of teaching Christianity is this! There are five sects, if not six, now employed as missionaries, every one instructing the Hindoos in their own particular method of interpreting the Scriptures; and when these

these have completely succeeded, the Church of England is to step in, and convert them all over again to its own doctrines. There is, indeed, a very fine varnish of probability over this ingenious and plausible scheme. Mr John Styles, however, would much rather see a *kime* in the flesh of an Hindoo, than the hand of a Bishop on his head.

The missionaries complain of intolerance. A weasel might as well complain of intolerance when he is throttled for sucking eggs. Toleration for their own opinions,—toleration for their domestic worship, for their private groans and convulsions, they possess in the fullest extent; but who ever heard of toleration for intolerance? who ever before heard men cry out that they were persecuted, because they might not insult the religion, shock the feelings, irritate the passions of their fellow-creatures, and throw a whole colony into bloodshed and confusion? We did not say that a man was not an object of pity, who tormented himself from a sense of duty, but that he was not so great an object of pity as one equally tormented by the tyranny of another, and without any sense of duty to support him. Let Mr Styles first inflict forty lashes upon himself, then let him allow an Edinburgh Reviewer to give him forty more,—he will find no comparison between the two flagellations.

These men talk of the loss of our possessions in India, as if it made the argument against them only more or less strong; whereas, in our estimation, it makes the argument against them conclusive, and shuts up the case. Two men possess a cow, and they quarrel violently how they shall manage this cow. They will surely both of them (if they have a particle of common sense) agree, that there is an absolute necessity for preventing the cow from running away. It is not only the loss of India, that is in question,—but, how will it be lost?—by the massacre of ten or twenty thousand English, by the blood of our sons and brothers, who have been toiling so many years to return to their native country. But what is all this to a ferocious Methodist. What care Brothers *Barrel* and *Ringletub* for us and our colonies? If it were possible to invent a method by which a few men sent from a distant country could hold such masses of people as the Hindoos in subjection, that method would be the institution of *castes*. There is no institution which can so effectually curb the ambition of genius, reconcile the individual more completely to his station, and reduce the varieties of human character to such a state of insipid and monotonous tameness; and yet the religion which destroys castes is said to render our empire in India more certain! It may be our duty to make the Hindoos, Christians,—that is another argument: but, that we shall by so doing strengthen our empire,

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we utterly deny. What signifies identity of religion to a question of this kind? Diversity of bodily colour and of language would soon overpower this consideration. Make the Hindoos enterprizing, active and reasonable as yourselves,—destroy the eternal track in which they have moved for ages,—and, in a moment, they would sweep you off the face of the earth. Let us ask, too, if the Bible is universally diffused in Hindostan, what must be the astonishment of the natives to find that we are forbidden to rob, murder and steal,—we who, in fifty years, have extended our empire from a few acres about Madras over the whole peninsula, and sixty millions of people, and exemplified in our public conduct every crime of which human nature is capable. What matchless impudence to follow up such practice with such precepts! If we have common prudence, let us keep the gospel at home, and tell them that Machiavel is our prophet, and the god of the Manicheans our god.

There is nothing which disgusts us more, than the familiarity which these impious coxcombs affect with the ways and designs of Providence. Every man, now-a-days, is an *Amos* or a *Malachi*. One rushes out of his chambers, and tells us we are beaten by the French, because we do not abolish the slave trade. Another assures us, that we have no chance of victory till India is evangelized. The new Christians are now come to speak of the ways of their Creator with as much confidence as they would of the plans of an earthly ruler. We remember when the ways of God to man were gazed upon with trembling humility,—when they were called inscrutable,—when piety looked to another scene of existence for the true explanation of this ambiguous and distressing world. We were taught in our childhood that this was true religion; but it turns out now to be nothing but atheism and infidelity. If any thing could surprise us from the pen of a Methodist, we should be truly surprised at the very irreligious and presumptuous answer which Mr Styles makes to some of our arguments. Our title to one of the anecdotes from the Methodist Magazine is as follows—'*A Sinner punished—a Bee the instrument;*' to which Mr Styles replies, that we might as well ridicule the Scriptures, by relating their contents in the same ludicrous manner. *An interference with respect to a travelling Jew; blindness the consequence. Acts, the ninth chapter, and first nine verses. The account of Paul's conversion, &c. &c. &c. page* 38. But does Mr Styles forget, that the one is a shameless falsehood, introduced to sell a twopenny book, and the other a miracle, recorded by inspired writers? In the same manner, when we express our surprise that sixty millions of Hindoos should be converted by four men and sixteen guineas, he asks, what would have become of Christianity

Christianity if the twelve Apostles had argued in the same way? It is impossible to make this infatuated gentleman understand that the lies of the Evangelical Magazine are not the miracles of Scripture; and that the Baptist Missionaries are not the Apostles. He seriously expects that we should speak of Brother Carey as we would speak of St Paul; and treat with an equal respect the miracles of the Magazine and the Gospel.

Mr Styles knows very well that we have never said, because a nation has present happiness, that it can therefore dispense with immortal happiness; but we have said, that, where of two nations both cannot be made Christians, it is more the duty of a Missionary to convert the one which is exposed to every evil of barbarism, than the other, possessing every blessing of civilization. Our argument is merely comparative: Mr Styles must have known it to be so:—But who does not love the Tabernacle better than truth? When the tenacity of the Hindoos on the subject of their religion is adduced as a reason against the success of the missions, the friends to this undertaking are always fond of reminding us how patiently the Hindoos submitted to the religious persecution and butchery of Tippoo. The inference from such citations is truly alarming. It is the imperious duty of Government to watch some of these men most narrowly. There is nothing of which they are not capable. And what, after all, did Tippoo effect in the way of conversion? How many Mahometans did he make? There was all the carnage of Medea's Kettle, and none of the transformation. He deprived multitudes of Hindoos of their caste, indeed; and cut them off from all the benefits of their religion. That he did, and we may do, by violence: but, did he make Mahomedans,—or shall we make Christians? This, however, it seems, is a matter of pleasantry. To make a poor Hindoo hateful to himself and his kindred, and to fix a curse upon him to the end of his days!—we have no doubt but that this is very entertaining; and particularly to the friends of toleration. But our ideas of comedy have been formed in another school. We are dull enough to think, too, that it is more innocent to exile pigs, than to offend conscience, and destroy human happiness. The scheme of baptizing with beef broth is about as brutal and preposterous, as the assertion that you may vilify the gods and priests of the Hindoos with safety, provided you do not meddle with their turbans and toupees, (which are cherished solely on a principle of religion); is silly and contemptible. After all, if the Mahometan did persecute the Hindoo with impunity, is that any precedent of safety to a government that offends every feeling *both* of Mahometan and Hindoo at the same time? You have a tiger and a buffalo in the same enclosure; and the tiger

drives the buffalo before him;—is it therefore prudent in *you* to do that which will irritate them both, and bring their united strength upon you?

In answer to all the low malignity of this author, we have only to reply, that we are, as we always have been, sincere friends to the conversion of the Hindoos. We admit the Hindoo religion to be full of follies, and full of enormities;—we think conversion a great duty; and should think it, if it could be effected, a great blessing: but our opinion of the Missionaries and of their employer is such, that we most firmly believe, in less than twenty years, for the conversion of a few degraded wretches, who would be neither Methodists nor Hindoos, they would infallibly produce the massacre of every European in India; * the loss of our settlements; and consequently of the chance of that slow, solid, and temperate introduction of Christianity, which the superiority of the European character may ultimately effect in the Eastern world. The Board of Controul (all Atheists, and disciples of Voltaire, of course) are so entirely of our way of thinking, that the most peremptory orders have been issued to send all the missionaries home upon the slightest appearance of disturbance. Those who have sons and brothers in India may now sleep in peace. Upon the transmission of this order, Mr Styles is said to have destroyed himself with a *kine*.

ART. IV. *Agriculture the Source of the Wealth of Britain: A Reply to the Objections urged by Mr Mill, the Edinburgh Reviewers and others, against the Doctrines of the Pamphlet, entitled, "Britain independent of Commerce;" with Remarks on the Criticism of the Monthly Reviewers upon that Work.* By W. Spence, F. L. S. 8vo. London. 1808.

MR SPENCE is an acute man; but, unfortunately, quite ignorant of the principles of political economy. He detects, with much alacrity, some palpable blunders of his antagonists; and then proceeds, with the most exemplary self-complacency, to propound as new discoveries, certain truths which no one at all acquainted with the subject ever thought of disputing; and to repeat certain fallacies which had been completely refuted and exposed more than thirty years ago. It is really provoking to find how

* Every opponent says, of Major Scott's book, 'What a dangerous book! the arrival of it at Calcutta may throw the whole Indian Empire into confusion;' and yet these are the people whose religious prejudices may be insulted with impunity!

how very slowly truth and sound reason make their way, even among the reading classes of the community; and how incredibly ignorant those who undertake to instruct others frequently are, of what has been done by their predecessors. If the persons who have bought five editions of Mr Spence's pamphlet could only be persuaded to look into the Wealth of Nations, they would need few cautions of ours; and if Mr Spence would take the trouble of understanding that celebrated work, we have so good an opinion of his sagacity, as to be persuaded, that he would either cease to write upon economical subjects, or write to retract and atone for his first publications. Notwithstanding the soundness of the foundation which was laid for this science, in the great work we have just mentioned, and the large share of public attention which it has ever since received, it is lamentable to think, that its history has hitherto consisted in the alternation of opposite errors; and that one fallacy has only been discredited, in order to make room for another. At one time, the whole riches of a nation were supposed to consist in its specie; and the politicians of that day dealt out their predictions of prosperity, or of ruin, according as circumstances seemed to indicate the ebb or the flow of that golden flood. This opinion being exploded, it has since been maintained, that the coin which circulates in a nation forms no part of its riches. By one class of reasoners, it has been contended, that paper currency is the source of incalculable evils; while it is boldly asserted by another hand, that the precious metals are of no use whatever, and that gold and silver should never enter into our circulation: and, in like manner, while the benefits of foreign trade are very absurdly exaggerated by shortsighted politicians, Mr Spence and others, in their zeal to run down this popular notion, have overlooked all its peculiar advantages.

The threatened exclusion of our trade from the whole continent of Europe, seems first to have drawn this author's attention to the subject; and he informs his readers, that, from the very beginning, he contemplated that event without any of that dismay which was so generally felt by his countrymen,—being firmly convinced, that the prosperity of Britain was perfectly compatible with the ruin of her foreign trade. He accordingly treated the prevailing alarms with a considerable degree of ridicule; and, in pure compassion to the weakness and folly of his fellow-citizens, and with a view to communicate to others the same happy serenity of mind which he himself possessed, ventured upon his first publication. Its success, he informs us, has even exceeded his expectation,—many of those who were brooding over the approaching ruin of their country, having derived great consolation from the display which was there made of its internal resources.

After having very attentively considered both Mr Spence's publications, we are truly sorry to say, that we are far from participating in those feelings of unconcern with which, he informs us, he has been long accustomed to view the commercial hostility of our enemy. His reasonings, indeed, appear to us to be so exceedingly superficial, and his notions respecting commerce to be so fundamentally and obviously erroneous, as to need only to be clearly stated to deprive them of all power of delusion. With regard to his great practical conclusion, indeed, for the sake of which the whole work is written, he appears to us to have fallen into such gross and palpable contradictions, that although we were to admit the truth of all his abstract doctrines, it is evident that no one of his conclusions would follow. In the treatise before us, he admits distinctly, that the want of foreign trade would deprive us of many of our accustomed conveniences and enjoyments; and that many of those commodities, which are brought from abroad, could not be procured so easily or so cheaply, by any exertion of industry at home. He acknowledges, that a system of self-denial will be necessary, in case our intercourse with foreign countries should be interrupted; and he expressly mentions, that the 'piled warehouses, and unemployed hands,' of the manufacturers of Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham, are the immediate consequences of the enemy's hostile decrees. After all these admissions, it is truly surprising to us, that Mr Spence should venture to assert, that we are independent of foreign commerce. In what respect, it may be asked, are we independent? Is it not evident, from his own account of the matter, that we are dependent upon it for many comforts and conveniences;—that the industry of the country can be much more profitably exerted when we exchange its surplus produce for the surplus produce of other nations;—and that owing to the loss of our foreign trade, our merchants are distressed with a load of unsaleable commodities, and are forced to discharge their workmen, either to starve, or to trust to chance, for a precarious subsistence? What sort of independence, then, is it that Mr Spence speaks of? or in what respect do his opinions differ from those of the persons whom he calls his antagonists? Did any body ever pretend that we could not have bread, beer, or potatoes, without foreign trade? or what other evils have ever been predicted from its destruction, than those which he has himself enumerated? If we add to the list the loss of the fixed capital embarked in that commerce, and the immediate misery and ruin which would fall on the persons who now derive their subsistence from it, we do not know where we could look for a more complete view of the evils of such an occurrence.

Independent, however, of the palpable inconsistencies into which

which Mr Spence has been betrayed in making the practical application of his doctrines, it certainly appears to us, that his whole hypothesis respecting commerce is founded in error. In our observations on his first publication, we stated that the chief advantages of commerce consisted in that improvement of manufacturing industry which it necessarily produced, and in the consequent cheapness of all manufactured commodities. This statement, however, having been rather misunderstood, we shall now take an opportunity of explaining the principle there alluded to, somewhat more at large; and as it is to this view of the subject that we chiefly trust for a refutation of Mr Spence's doctrines, we shall premise a short abstract of his argument, separating it of course from all the extraneous topics which he has mingled in the discussion.

It is the essential characteristic of agricultural industry, according to Mr Spence, to *create* wealth; all that produce which remains after feeding the cultivators employed in raising it, being a clear addition to what is already in the country,—while the effect of manufacturing industry is only to modify the rude produce already in existence, and to fit it for use; in which process, the food consumed by the workman must, it is said, be equal to the value which he adds by his industry to the raw material; so that commerce and manufactures can in no case directly augment the wealth of a nation. Their great utility consists in realizing in a more durable substance the produce of the soil, and in indirectly encouraging agriculture, by affording a greater choice of luxuries and conveniences, on which its surplus produce, to any extent, may be expended. It may be supposed, that the profit gained upon manufactures is an independent source of wealth; but it is evident, that this profit, however beneficial to the individual, is acquired at the expense of others; the gain of the seller being evidently the loss of the buyer. A coach which cost thirty quarters of corn may be sold for sixty, in which case the coachmaker will gain a very great profit; but, is it not plain that this profit is acquired at the expense of the purchaser, and that the nation would be equally rich, although the coach had been sold for its original cost? A revenue is here transferred, but not created. It is difficult then to conceive what peculiar advantages we derive from our commercial intercourse with other countries, since the produce of our domestic manufactures would afford ample encouragement to our agriculture, and since this appears to be the only benefit which can in any case be derived from commerce. The peculiar nature of the foreign trade which Britain carries on, renders its loss also of less consequence; as her exports consist generally of durable commodities, for which she receives in return

such articles as tea, wine, sugar, tobacco, silk, &c.—which, being designed for almost immediate consumption, are a source of loss rather than of profit; and all of which, besides, or substitutes for them, could be produced at home, at a small additional expense. On these grounds, Mr Spence concludes, that the wealth of Britain has been chiefly derived from her agriculture, and from her domestic industry; and that all the plans of her enemies for her ruin, will be perfectly nugatory, so long as those sources of her prosperity remain unimpaired.

The whole of this statement, it appears to us, is founded in error; and every separate branch of the argument involves a separate fallacy. In the *first* place, it is absurd to say that agriculture *creates* wealth; or that it produces it in a different manner from any *other* manufacture. Man never creates. The quantity of matter in the universe is always the same. All that he does, is to take advantage of its physical properties, to arrange or to mould it in such a way as to make it more subservient to his use or gratification than it was before. This process may be called manufacturing: and agriculture, it is obvious, is just as much a manufacture as distillation or carpentry. The husbandman takes advantage of the known properties of seed, water, air, and perhaps other elements, to arrange them, by a labour seconded by nature, in the form of grain, turnips, &c. The distiller takes advantage nearly of the same elements to arrange them in the form of spirits; and the carpenter takes advantage of the physical properties of iron and timber, to arrange certain masses of the latter in the form of tables, chairs, &c. None of these labourers create any thing; and all of them effect their purpose, by availing themselves of the physical properties of the substances they work upon. The readers who may wish to see this principle (which is the direct antidote to the radical error of the economists) more fully developed, will find it at p. 358 of our IVth volume. In the mean time, we may take it for granted that Mr Spence, by overlooking it, has built the whole of his argument upon a rotten foundation. The superstructure, however, could not have stood anywhere.

In estimating the advantages of commerce merely by the profit or loss of the individuals concerned in a particular transaction, it is evident, that Mr Spence reasons on very narrow and imperfect views of the subject. If commerce, by improving manufacturing industry, reduces the price of manufactures, it clearly benefits all those by whom manufactures are consumed. We endeavoured, in our review of Mr Spence's former publication, to confirm this view of the subject, by a reference to his own illustration of a coach, in the constructing of which fifty quarters of corn were supposed to be expended; but which could not possibly have been made,

made, in a lower stage of manufacturing industry, for double the quantity. The benefit of manufactures, in this particular case, consists, therefore, in making the coach *cheaper to the consumer*, and in thus allowing him to expend the difference between its present and its former price on other enjoyments. His wealth, therefore, is in reality increased; inasmuch as an increase of wealth consists in the increased command over the luxuries and conveniencies of life. Mr Spence, it is very remarkable, does not dispute that this is the effect of commerce; but he maintains, that it is produced *indirectly*. In point of fact, it is produced just as directly as wealth is ever produced. But, if it be admitted that it is produced, we care very little what verbal qualification Mr Spence may annex to his concession. There is obviously an end to his argument against the utility of manufactures. It is proper, however, to open up this important subject a little more fully.

It is by aſſigning to each individual his peculiar taſk, in the great work of providing for the wants of the ſociety to which he belongs, that men acquire that dexterity and ſkill, which enable them, with the ſame quantity of labour, to produce a greater return of the luxuries and conveniences of life. The more minutely labour is ſubdivided, the greater dexterity will each labourer acquire, and the more will ſociety profit from his labour. It is perhaps as much from this general improvement in the management of its induſtry, as from its progreſs in agriculture, that a nation grows rich; and commerce is abſolutely neceſſary to carry into effect that great arrangement, by which all the individuals of an extenſive country, being made to labour in concert, are afterwards enabled to exchange with each other the ſurplus produce of their induſtry, and thus to diſtribute to every individual the ſhare which he is entitled to receive out of the general ſtock. The greater the number of thoſe who are joined together in this partnerſhip of labour and enjoyment, the more valuable will be the produce of their induſtry. The joint labour of a thouſand individuals will produce a much greater quantity of commodities, than if each was endeavouring to ſupply his wants by his own ſeparate efforts. In the ſame manner, the inhabitants of a great country will derive much greater advantages from their combined exertions, than if they were divided into a variety of independent communities, each purſuing its own ſeparate plans of induſtry and improvement. Upon the ſame principle, a variety of nations joined together in one great mercantile confederacy, miniſtering to each other's enjoyments by a free and liberal intercourſe, will be enabled to arrange their induſtry upon a ſtill more enlarged ſcale of convenience. On the other hand, a country ſhut up from all intercourſe with the reſt of the world, and, conſequently, de-

pending on its own internal resources for the supply of its necessities, will be forced to prosecute certain modes of industry, in spite of every disadvantage of situation or of soil; and its commerce being confined to the market of its own territory, the quantity of any commodity which can be either produced or manufactured, can never exceed what is sufficient to supply its internal consumption. Its manufactures, therefore, can never grow to that extent to which they would soon expand, if they were allowed to adapt themselves to a wider market; and the principle of the division of labour can never be so extensively acted upon. In the management also of that great branch of internal industry—the cultivation of the soil, a country which has no outlet for its surplus produce, must be subjected to great disadvantages, as it must consider, not what it can *most abundantly produce*, but what it can *most certainly consume*. Mr Spence seems perfectly aware of this objection to his theory; although he does not appear to perceive that it is quite conclusive against it. Accordingly, he very gravely informs us, that foreign luxuries, such as wine, sugar, &c. could be produced in Britain, 'but not so cheaply as they could be brought from other countries!' And yet, after this admission, he asserts that Britain is independent of commerce; although it is manifest, that it is by commerce alone that we can obtain many things essential to our comfort; and that, without it, we should be reduced to the miserable condition of working much harder, and deriving less fruit from our labour.

It is hardly necessary to point out to our readers how much more slowly a country must increase in opulence and improvement, while it can neither freely avail itself of the natural advantages of its soil, nor of the industry of its inhabitants, than when the market of the world is thrown open to the enterprize of its merchants. When nations enjoy a complete freedom of commercial intercourse, they are not fettered, in the management of their industry, by any narrow considerations of their own particular wants. They consider, not so much what they want themselves, as what they can produce in greatest plenty and perfection; and, what they cannot consume, is exported in exchange for such luxuries or conveniences as can be produced or manufactured with greater advantage in other countries. In these circumstances, each nation will be enabled to pursue such plans of industry as seem best adapted to its circumstances, or to the extent of its capital. Its manufactures being enlarged for the supply of the extensive market of the world, the most ample scope will be found for the exercise of skill and economy, in the distribution of the labour which they set in motion. None will be established but such as can be prosecuted with peculiar advantages; and no efforts will be made to force

force a ſcanty produce from an unfavourable ſoil. In this, then, conſiſts the great and peculiar benefit of commerce, that it allows a nation to make the beſt poſſible uſe, both of its ſoil and of its induſtry; and to draw from the moſt diſtant regions the ſupply of its wants. It collects into one ſpot all the rareſt luxuries of the moſt favoured countries,—all the choiceſt productions of nature and of art; thus affording new facilities either for accumulation or for enjoyment.

It appears, therefore, that commerce contributes directly to augment the wealth of a nation, by increaſing its command over all the conveniences and comforts of life; and that Mr Spence, in framing his theory, has overlooked the important effects which reſult to ſociety from the diviſion of labour, and the conſequent improvement of manufacturing industry. Not only will a nation loſe all those advantages by loſing any part of its trade, either foreign or domeſtic, but it will be ſubjected to great additional inconvenience, by having those markets ſhut againſt it, to which the general plan of its commerce had been gradually accommodated. The degree of inconvenience will be greater or ſmaller, indeed, according as the ſcheme of its domeſtic induſtry is more or leſs intimately interwoven with its foreign trade. In a vaſt and populous country like China, with every diverſity of ſoil and climate,—abounding with the moſt various luxuries, and depending, conſequently, very little on the ſurplus produce of other ſtates,—the loſs of foreign trade would be very little felt. But a nation which poſſeſſes a more confined territory, incapable of ſupplying its inhabitants with the conveniences and luxuries which they require, muſt depend on its connexion with other countries for its moſt eſſential comforts; and it muſt always, on this account, prepare a ſurplus of manufactured produce for foreign ſale. Conſiderable embarraſſment will conſequently be produced, by any interruption in its accuſtomed intercourſe with thoſe countries to which its manufactures are uſually exported. The domeſtic commerce of Britain is very much accommodated to the ſupply of foreign markets. With her narrow territory, her overflowing capital, and the ſkill and talent of her numerous artizans, foreign trade is eminently beneficial to her, both as it contributes to increaſe her enjoyments, and to give employment to her growing capital: and, accordingly, all her great manufacturing towns, ſuch as Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glaſgow, &c. employ a great part of their induſtry in preparing manufactures for exportation. If it were poſſible, therefore, to excluſe her commerce from all its accuſtomed markets, all that portion of her produce which was formerly ſent abroad, and which brought back, in return, the productions of other countries, muſt now

remain

remain unsaleable at home;—the consequence of which must be, the distress of her merchants, and the stagnation of her industry. Her commerce being confined to the supply of her own narrow market, the quantity of any commodity manufactured could never exceed what was sufficient for the internal consumption of the country. All those great manufactures, therefore, which had grown and flourished along with the extension of her commercial intercourse, and which depended on foreign markets for an outlet to their produce, must now decline; great part of the capital and industry which they set in motion must be for a time rendered useless; and must slowly, and with difficulty, force its way into new employments, for the purpose of providing those conveniences which could have been more cheaply brought from other countries. The whole frame of her commerce must thus be disjointed and broken up, in order to be newmodelled upon the diminutive scale of her own particular wants; and, while society is holding this retrograde course, great misery must prevail. Merchants and manufacturers must be ruined,—labourers must be thrown idle,—and the dexterity and skill on which they depended for a subsistence, must be rendered for ever useless to them. The waste of capital will, at the same time, be enormous—all that wealth which is invested in the materials of the ruined manufactures being irrecoverably lost. Such must infallibly be the consequences, if the commerce of Britain, which has now extended itself over the whole extent of the globe, were suddenly forced back, and pent up by unnatural violence, within her own territory. Although Mr Spence seems perfectly aware of the extent of the mischief, yet he still maintains, with singular inconsistency, that we are independent of foreign commerce; and gravely endeavours to show, what nobody ever doubted, that we would gradually be forced to accommodate our trade to the necessities of our situation,—that out of the wrecks of our former manufactures, new and more puny establishments would arise, suited to the narrow market to which they would hereafter be confined,—that the ruin would not be total,—that we might still retain a great part of our population,—and that the established order of society might still survive the shock of this commercial revolution. Such seems to be the sum and substance of his arguments; and, truly, the topics seem to be judiciously selected for consoling our ruined merchants and starving manufacturers!

The perishable nature of the commodities we receive from other countries, furnishes Mr Spence with a separate argument against the utility of foreign commerce. We import, he observes, wine, rum, brandy, sugar, tobacco, and a variety of other luxuries, which, so far from enriching the country, rather tend to its impoverishment;—we export, in return, hardware, woollens, and

a variety of other manufactures, which endure for years, and are essential to the most useful purposes of life. What we import, therefore, is very quickly consumed; but we export substantial wealth. Now, this is neither more nor less than the old absurdity, so triumphantly ridiculed by Dr Smith, of expecting to grow rich by hoarding up pots and pans, and keeping clear of such perishable articles as bread and beef. Suppose one country abounded in metals, but was too barren to grow corn to feed its inhabitants, and another was extremely fertile in grain, but had neither iron nor brass in its entrails,—would it be improvident in the workers of metal to give their durable commodities for things so perishable as flour and biscuit? Or, would not the benefit be equal and reciprocal, if each got what it wanted, in exchange for what it had no use for? The durability of a commodity adds, no doubt, to its value, and is an element in the calculation by which that value is *compared* with that of other commodities. If a pan could only be put once on the fire, as a piece of bread can only be put once in the belly, less bread would be given in exchange for it in barter; and the reason why so much is now given for it, is, that it can be used so long and so often. After this is taken into account, however, the barter is again quite equal; and both parties must be gainers who are willingly parties to it. This, indeed, is an epitome and exemplification of the true nature and use of foreign commerce in general. It is not confined, of course, to things of prime necessity; but, wherever it exists, its benefits are as certain and substantial as in this imaginary case of a trade between the kingdom of iron and the kingdom of bread-corn.

We have thus endeavoured to expose this delusion respecting commerce; and we heartily wish, that, along with it, we could banish that spirit of paltry cavilling and verbal contention which seems to have so generally infected the present generation of writers on subjects of political economy. This trifling is not merely vexatious: it may mislead some; and it unquestionably tends to bring the science itself into discredit with ordinary readers. A writer may no doubt display considerable talent in supporting an absurd theory; but he ought to recollect, that those who wish to be made wiser by what they read, feel extremely little interest in any of those discussions in which ingenuity is matched against common sense. It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that this paradox about the inutility of foreign commerce, should have been spread abroad at a time when our merchants and manufacturers are actually suffering no inconsiderable evils from its interruption. It proves, indeed, that Mr Spence must have a very sincere confidence in the solidity of his doctrines,

trines, when he persists in sending them forth to meet, in the general distress of the country, their own practical refutation.

ART. V. *Dr Milner's Appeal to the Catholics of Ireland.* Dublin, 1808.

A Letter to Lord Viscount Southwell. By J. B. Trotter, late private Secretary to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. London, 1809.

IN the discussion respecting the Catholic question, which took place in the summer of 1808, Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, and Messrs Grattan and Ponsonby in the Commons, stated from authority, that the Catholics were willing to allow to the Crown a negative in the appointment of their Bishops. As the popular argument against the Catholics had always been, that the heads of their church were appointed by a foreign power, this permission, on their part, for the interference of the Crown, as it went to remedy the supposed pernicious effects of such foreign appointments, could not fail to be highly popular with, and acceptable to, the great body of the Protestants. It accordingly produced the happiest effects for the cause of Catholic emancipation; and gave to the question an air of triumphant success, which it had never before assumed.

In about six weeks, however, after this declaration in Parliament, there broke out in Ireland the most violent spirit of opposition to the proposed *veto* of the Crown in matters of religion. The lower order of priests caught the flame,—the rebel party in Ireland fanned it,—and the prelacy, against their better judgment, and, we believe, their sincere inclinations, were compelled to vote such a change in the constitution of their church to be inexpedient.

Before forming any judgment upon the point now at issue, it is necessary to bring the facts clearly into view. The manner in which the Irish prelates have hitherto been elected, is as follows. Upon * the vacancy of any titular Roman Catholic diocese in Ireland, the Chapter elects a Vicar Capitular to govern it *per interim;* and having what is termed the right of *postulation,* the Chapter also recommends three persons to the see of Rome, who are termed *dignus, dignior, dignissimus.* Confirmation, with the permission to be consecrated, is granted always to one of them, generally

* *Vide* Sir John Hippesly Coxe's Speech, p. 117.—A production containing more information upon the subject of the Catholics, than any other which we have seen; and which certainly ought to be made public.

generally to the first on the list, or the *dignissimus*. The titular Deans are also appointed by the Pope, on the recommendation of their diocesans; and, in this instance also, a papal bull is necessarily expedited. The right of postulation, nominally exercised by the Chapter, was in fact exercised by the Irish Bishops,—by a general agreement among whom, the list transmitted to Rome was always arranged.

This is an accurate statement of the manner in which the appointments to bishopricks in Ireland has always taken place; and upon this statement, it appears to us quite plain, that it is unjust to couple together the *veto* upon the prelacy with the privileges asked for by the Catholic laity. There is some sense in saying we must be protected from the interference of a foreign power, which foreign power may very probably be under the influence of France. But it turns out, that the interference of the Pope is only nominal, and that, in point of fact, he no more appoints the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, than he does the Protestant Bishops of England. Long custom has made the nomination of the first upon the list almost a matter of course; and if the Pope should choose, contrary to antient custom, to deviate from this, he has only his choice of two other persons,—neither of them originating in his own preference or opinion. How is it possible, under these circumstances, that any disloyal person (for that must be the danger) can be introduced *by the Pope?* The mischief, if any, must be done by the *Prelates themselves*,—in whom the nomination of the members of their own order is substantially vested. The *veto*, then, should be upon the presentation by the Prelates, and not upon the Pope's confirmation; and, if so, why is it more reasonable that the Crown should possess a rejecting power over the Bishops of the Catholics, than over the Elders of the Presbyterians, or the Rabbis of the Jews? The dread of foreign influence, indeed, is a good reason for the introduction of a *veto;* but when that influence, as in this case, is shown to be merely nominal, we are at a loss to justify such an exaction upon any other principle. The last twenty years has been a constant series of restitutions to the Catholics; the greater part from fear—some from generosity; and, yet, in no one single instance has this *veto* ever been made an indispensable condition. When the Catholics were permitted to purchase land, no mention was made of a *veto;*—when they were allowed to vote for members of Parliament, it was not required as a condition;—nor was it mentioned when innumerable penalties against their religion were repealed. Whence comes it, then, that the price is enhanced, exactly in proportion as the situation of the world, and the necessity for conciliation seem to recommend the most prompt and gratuitous concessions? and that we are selling civil and religious liberty

liberty for a price, when we have so often before granted them as a boon?

If the *veto* is not demanded upon the plea of Bishops being appointed by a foreign power, there can be no other principle on which it is at all just to require it. They entirely deny the interference of the Pope in any point but their church discipline; and are willing to deny it upon oath. And if (as has been irresistibly said so often before) you cannot believe a Catholic upon oath, all your penal laws may as well be repealed to-morrow; for their efficacy rests entirely upon the supposition, that a Catholic believes in oaths, and will not perjure himself.

If the mass of Catholics, therefore, are obstinate in refusing the *veto*, we certainly think it ought not to be insisted upon as the condition of emancipation. But we are really at a loss to say whether it is more weak to refuse such a request, or to make it. The Catholics admit that it is no infringement of the discipline of their church. The King of Prussia, a Protestant, exercised the same power. The Emperor of Russia has a *veto* on the appointment of Catholic bishops; the states had a *veto* on the appointment of Catholic priests within the united provinces. Why are the Irish Catholics to refuse what so many other Catholic churches have granted to the natural, though perhaps the unreasonable jealousy of Protestant governments?

We are utterly astonished to meet with such a collection of trash in the pamphlet of Mr Trotter;—to find that any man, who has lived under the shadow of Mr Fox, should evince such a total absence of good sound sense upon a question of such immense importance. When were such aboriginal feuds, as those which separate the two countries, ever appeased without mutual concession? What object, at the present time, can be of such moment to every man of principle and understanding, as to unite the whole British people in one firm indissoluble mass against France?—and this period it is that Mr Trotter has chosen for an appeal to the religious jealousy, the national vanity, and the irritable passions of the Irish. 'Could 'I (my Lord) lead you to the mouldering towers, and melancholy, 'yet venerable ruins, where the creeping ivy possesses what once 'resounded to the harp, and echoed the praises of the Deity;—'could I then say to you, my Lord, was there not something au-'gust in your countrymen adhering, through the long lapse of 'time, to what they deemed the earliest and first doctrines of 'Christianity!' &c.; and all this, too, and more of the same stamp, when Mr Trotter has left school—positively quitted his grammar school ten years;—when he has enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Mr Fox;—when three or four weeks longer will terminate the last monarchy in Europe! In what small portions has

has it pleased Almighty Providence to deal out to mankind that most excellent gift of *common sense!*

We have all along been the steady friends of Catholic emancipation; but we do most sincerely regret the late resolutions into which the Catholic prelates have been driven by the disaffection of some, and by the ignorance of many more. The *veto* ought to have been conceded. It saved the pride of many opponents, by giving them a fair pretext for changing their opinions; it soothed the groundless alarms of others; it violated no point of discipline in the Catholic church; and was, upon the whole, an expedient of the most sovereign efficacy, which, at no very distant period, would have produced Catholic emancipation, not only as a matter of course, but almost by acclamation. We still indulge an hope that the prelacy will be able to carry their point; and that the absurd and ridiculous opposition of their flocks will subside. It is not of the slightest consequence whether the *veto* is conceded under an administration hostile to the Catholics. The business of the Catholics is to put their enemies as much as possible in the wrong;—and the way to do so is, to make every concession possible to Protestant jealousies, consistent with honour and principle. The concession now asked for has been granted by all other Catholic churches similarly situated; and has been always approved by the holy see.

If the Catholics, however, will do nothing for themselves, the difficulty must be got over without their interference; and perhaps the whole business will in this way be better done. We would admit the Catholic laity into Parliament, and into every rank of the army or navy. We would make a provision for their clergy;—and the sign manual of the King, once obtained, should entitle the Catholic Bishops and Deans to their salaries for life. This *veto* upon the salary would soon operate as a *veto* upon the Bishop; and produce that understanding between the Prelacy and the Castle, which is the security desired. The laity having their grievances redressed, and being liberated from the burthen of supporting their clergy, would entertain no jealousy of the provision: nor would the consent of the Catholics, or their interference, be in the slightest degree necessary; for nobody would be compelled to receive their salaries, if they did not chuse to apply for them. To this increase of the power of the Crown, we do not object. Ireland is distant,—smarting under the destruction of its separate empire, of a different religion, and exposed to the intrigues of France. For these reasons, such an increase of royal influence appears to us salutary. A quarter of the appointments to parochial salaries we would vest in the Crown; a few in the Bishops; and sell the rest to private patrons, for the raising of the general fund—which should

should be placed in the stocks, with interest payable in a general office at Dublin, or by fixed agents elsewhere. Something of this kind must be done,—and done soon. Ireland increases rapidly in strength—rapidly, we fear, in disaffection, and in the desire of separation. The Catholic strength and wealth, it must be remembered, increases eight-fold in proportion to that of the Protestants. The time for petitioning may soon end, as it did with America; and the time for demanding begins. Things may turn out otherwise, though we do not think they will; but we sincerely believe that the longer the concession is delayed, the more must be granted. To conciliate Ireland, scarcely any price is too great. That effected, there is every probability that we may yet weather the storm to which we are exposed: Till it is done, no man can look upon the precarious foundation on which our empire rests, without lively apprehensions of danger to himself, and the deepest sentiments of contempt for those to whose *baseness* (for that is the word) that continuation of danger is to be ascribed.

ART. VI. *A complete System of Astronomy.* By the Rev. S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S., Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. Vol. III. Cambridge. 1808.

THE volume here announced consists of a set of Astronomical Tables, the most accurate and complete, by far, that we have ever had an opportunity to examine; the epitome or essence of all that is most accurate in the observations of Cassini, Halley, Bradley and Maskelyne; of all that is most profound in the investigations of Newton, Euler, La Grange and La Place. It is the numerical expression of the results that have been obtained from the most elaborate comparison of the theory of gravitation, with the observations of astronomy; and presents us with a picture of the heavens, the truth of which is not confined to the present age, but extended indefinitely both into the past and the future.

We regret that no preface or advertisement announces precisely to whom astronomers are indebted for this invaluable present, and what is the exact share which Mr Vince himself claims in the work which he has given to the world;—in what respects he is to be regarded as the editor,—in what as the author of the present volume. We do, however, gather from the preliminary notices and instructions belonging to particular tables, that most of them

them are the work of two distinguished foreigners, BURG and DE LAMBRE; both of them, particularly the latter, well known as astronomers and mathematicians. From thence also we learn, that the rules and formulas which have served for the construction of the tables, are those of La Place, contained in his Méchanique Céleste.

The tables of Burg and Delambre were originally printed in France, and a few copies were sent to England by the National Institute, or the Board of Longitude, as presents to the Royal Society and the Royal Astronomer. They were accompanied with the following letter from De Lambre; which does much credit both to the writer and the person to whom it is addressed.

'Institut National, Classe des Sciences Physiques et Mathématiques, Paris, le 20 Fevrier, 1806. Le Secrétaire perpétuel pour les Sciences Mathématiques à Monsieur Maskelyne, Astronome Royal et Membre de la Société Royale de Londres.

'*Monsieur, et respectable Confrère,*

'Le Bureau des Longitudes me charge de vous offrir Sept Exemplaires des Tables qu'il vient de publier. Cet hommage de sa haute estime et de sa reconnoissance etoit bien dû à l'auteur du plus grand et du plus précieux recueil d'Observations qui existe. C'est à cette Source que nous avons puisé, Monsieur Burg et moi, pour la plus exacte determination des coefficiens des equations Lunaires et Solaires; c'est là que nous avons trouvé la confirmation des inégalités que la théorie peut bien indiquer, mais dont la valeur ne pourroit être fixée que par des calculs qui sont encore au-dessus des forces de l'analyse; en fin, c'est à vous que nous devons la connoissance des mouvemens moyens, et de toutes les constantes que l'observation seule peut donner. Recevez donc, avec bienveillance, un ouvrage auquel vous avez si puissamment contribué. Nous serons très flattés, si vous jugez nos Tables dignes d'être employées aux calculs du Nautical Almanack, suivant l'apparence que nous en donne votre dernier preface.'

The tables referred to in this letter are those of the Moon, and are the work of Burg; but, along with them, were sent over, if we mistake not, the other tables already referred to, which were the work of De Lambre himself, and which appear to constitute the principal part of the present volume. Mr Vince tells us, that the tables of the Sun, of Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus, or, as that planet is here styled, the Georgian, together with the tables of Jupiter's satellites, were all constructed by De Lambre from the theory and formulas of La Place.

We are left in an uncertainty with respect to the tables of Mercury, Venus and Mars; or rather, as nothing is said to the contrary, we are to consider them as drawn up by Mr Vince himself.

It may be proper to observe, for the information of some of our readers, that what is called an equation in astronomy, is the correction that must be made for an irregularity in the motion of a planet, if we would deduce the true place from the mean, or from that which the planet would occupy at any time, if its revolution round the sun was performed with uniform velocity. Astronomical tables therefore contain, first, the mean motions of the planets, or the places which they would have if they revolved uniformly; and, next, the equations, or the corrections that must be applied to these uniform motions, in order to deduce from them the true places of those bodies. The *arguments* of these equations are the quantities on which the equations depend, and by means of which they are found out in the tables. These arguments depend on the time, and on certain known quantities; they are therefore *functions*, as mathematicians express it, of the time, or of the mean motion; so that, when any instant of time is given, the arguments of the equations for that instant can be computed; and from them are found, in the tables, the equations or corrections that are to be applied to the mean motions.

Again, the epochs of the mean motion of a planet are the places of the planet, supposing its motion uniform, at certain points or epochs of time, from which the calculations are supposed to begin. The tables of the Sun, in this volume, contain his mean place, determined, for two radical epochs, with all the exactness that the latest improvements in astronomical observation can give. The first is for the first of January 1752, determined from a comparison of 720 of Dr Bradley's observations. The second for the first of January 1802, determined from about 400 passages of the Sun over the meridian, observed at Greenwich and Paris, between 1798 and 1802. The result of this has been, to make the secular mean motion, or the mean motion of the sun in 100 years, 0° 45′ 45″ more than 100 complete revolutions, which is less by 15″ than in De Lambre's former tables.

The same table that contains the mean place of the Sun for the beginning of January for every year, contains the arguments of several small inequalities that affect the motion of the Earth, or the apparent motion of the Sun. These have been received in other tables, but are here given with more accuracy than before. The first arises from the place of the Moon relatively to the Sun, and proceeds from this, that it is not the centre of the Earth, but the centre of gravity of the Moon and Earth that describes an ellipsis round the Sun. A small inequality, arising from this cause, displaces the Earth by a quantity that alternately increases and diminishes the Sun's longitude, in the course of every lunation, to the amount, when a *maximum*, of seven seconds and a half.

The

The disturbances produced by the action of Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, on the Earth, come next. Each of these inequalities depends chiefly on the difference of the heliocentric place of the planet and of the Earth, and varies, as is known, from the theory of disturbing forces, nearly as the sine of that angle. The calculation is here pushed to much greater exactness, however; the eccentricity of the orbit, both of the disturbing and disturbed planet, being taken into account. The *maxima* of these four corrections are 15″, 6″, 12″.5, 1″.

Next follows the nutation of the Earth's axis, as produced both by the Moon and by the Sun. The equation of the centre is next given, with its secular variation, or its change produced by the constant diminution of the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit, deduced from the theory of gravity by La Place, and agreeing well with the phenomena actually observed. This equation is calculated for every 10 minutes of the mean motion, so as to save much time to the computer.

There is a very ingenious device employed in these tables, by which all the numbers are rendered additive, so that no negative quantity, or one that is to be subtracted, ever enters into the computation. Two different contrivances, the same in their principle, are employed for this purpose. When an equation is negative, take the difference between that equation and the whole circumference, and add this to the mean motion, dropping, as is usually done, the entire circumference, which has, in effect, been added to the negative equation. Suppose, for example, the equation were, — 1° 10′ 20″, or that 1° 10′ 20″ was to be subtracted from the mean motion; instead of this last number, the table gives 11ˢ 28° 49′ 40″ to be added to the mean motion; and then 12, or the entire circle, being left out, as is always done of course in these calculations, the quantity that remains is just the same that would have been obtained by ordinary subtraction.

In the case of smaller equations, such as proceed from the disturbances arising from the mutual action of the planets on one another, the method of rendering them additive is somewhat different. To each equation, the *maximum*, or the greatest affirmative value which belongs to that equation, is added. The sum thus produced is always additive, but too great by the *maximum* equation. To allow for this, the epochs of the mean motion, to which these equations are to be added, are all diminished by an equal quantity; and this subtraction being made, in the original construction of the tables, nothing is left to be done by the computer who uses them, except to make those additions which the precepts direct. This device is used by La Lande in some of his tables, but is not employed generally, as in those before us.

It cannot be doubted that there is a great advantage in all this, as the complication arising from mixing the operations of addition and subtraction is a source of error, especially to those who are not versed in algebraic calculation. At the same time, it must be allowed, that the tables become, in this way, less descriptive, on inspection, of the actual phenomena of the heavens. They do not represent to us inequalities that first increase, afterwards decrease, become equal to nothing, and then pass over to the negative side, and diminish the mean motion by the same quantities, and for the same length of time that they had increased it. This effect is lost; but if the probability of error in computation is diminished, it must be considered as a full compensation for what is at most only a theoretical defect.

It is not a little curious to remark, that our measures of time on the surface of the Earth are affected by such remote bodies as Venus, Mars and Jupiter; and that a well regulated clock should be capable of affording a measure of the power with which these planets act upon the Earth. This is however true; and a table of the inequality which they produce in the equation of time, forms the 30th of the solar tables. As the equation of time depends upon the Sun's right ascension, which is affected by the disturbing forces of the planets just mentioned, it is evident that an inequality in that equation must be produced from this cause. The amount, when a maximum, is a little more than $3^{sec.}$ The action of Jupiter, therefore, and the other planets, may affect our reckoning of time to the amount of three seconds.

An equation is also set down for the aberration of light, or the velocity with which light is propagated. If the Earth's motion were uniform, the Sun would appear advanced beyond his true place, at all times, by $20''\frac{1}{4}$; but as the velocity of the Earth increases and diminishes alternately in the course of its annual revolution, the quantity of the aberration, which depends on the ratio of the velocity of the Earth to the velocity of light, must also vary. The amount of this variation is calculated in these tables, we believe for the first time: it does not exceed one third of a second. The source of this inequality has been long known; but the amount of it was so inconsiderable, that it was needless to pay attention to it, till all the quantities, equally small, were reduced to computation.

The rectilineal distance of the Earth and Sun, or, as it is called, the *radius vector* of the Earth's orbit, is also one of those elements that is materially affected by the action of the planets. These joint actions may amount to seven parts in 100,000, or about the fourteen thousandth and three hundredth part of the *radius vector*.

The

The whole of these equations are computed with the greatest care; the rules for applying them are very perspicuously drawn up; and we can only remark one circumstance which would have added to their value, viz. to have set down the formula from which the equations of every particular table were computed.

The tables of the Sun are followed by those of the Moon,—the same that obtained the prize from the Board of Longitude of Paris in the year 1800. They are the work of M. Burg, as already mentioned; and are deduced, by the rules of La Place, chiefly from a series of more than three thousand two hundred observations made at Greenwich between the years 1765, 1793. The method followed in the construction of them, is founded on the algebraic solution of those equations, known by the name of *equations of conditions.* The place of a planet, relatively to a fixt point in the heavens, may be expressed, as we know from the theory of gravitation, by a series of the form, $A + B \sin x + C \sin y + D \sin z$, &c.; in which x, y, z, are variable angles depending on the time; while A, B, C, D, are constant, but unknown quantities, that remain to be determined. When, therefore, by astronomical observation, the place of a planet for a given instant of time is found, we have an equation of this form: $A + B \sin x' + C \sin y' + D \sin z' = M$, M being the longitude reckoned from some given point, and being known as well as x', y', &c.; so that A, B, C, D, are the only unknown quantities.

By another observation, another equation of the same kind is given, and so on; a new equation being found by every new observation. When, of such equations, as many are taken as there are unknown quantities, values of each of these quantities may be found; and, when the same process is followed for other sets of observations, were there no error in the observations, the values of A, B, C, D, would be the same that were first found; but, as the observations are subject to some error, however small, this sort of exact coincidence cannot be expected; and we must, therefore, content ourselves with taking a mean of the different values of the unknown coefficients thus determined. Various devices for the extermination of the unknown quantities, and the computation of the mean values, must naturally occur in the prosecution of such a work, which, from the great number of equations that must be compared, becomes extremely laborious. M. Burg used to compare nine or ten hundred observations for each of the coefficients he had to determine. He verified all these by a second computation, and generally found that the same coefficient differed in its value but a fraction of a second. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the coefficients are determined to as great a degree of accuracy as astronomical observation is at present capable of yielding.

But, after all these computations had been gone through, and a number of corrections added to those already contained in the tables of Mayer and Mason, M. Burg still found that there was an inconsistency in the mean places, that, by help of these corrections, were deduced from distant observations. No method of extricating himself from this difficulty occurred, nor probably would have occurred, for several ages, if astronomical science had been left to derive its accuracy from observation alone. The discovery of a secular equation of the Moon, of so long a period as 185 years, by La Place, resolved the difficulty, and enabled our author to give to his tables a more perfect agreement with observation, than had ever yet been attained. This equation depends on the longitude of the Moon's apogee + 2 longitude of the node — 3 times longitude of the Sun's apogee, and is given in these tables, united with the other secular equation of the Moon, formerly supposed to be an acceleration of her mean motion, but now found by La Place to be a periodical equation, though, of so long a period, that the calculus has not yet ventured to explore its extent.

The excellence of these tables will be best understood by comparing them with others. The tables of Mayer contained only fourteen equations for the Moon's longitude. Mason, an English astronomer, gave a new edition of these tables, in which he added eight more equations, which Mayer had given in his theory, but thought of too little consequence to reduce them into tables. M. Burg introduced, in addition to all these, six others, which are entirely new. Besides these, the secular equations of the anomaly and node, and the equation which has a period of 185 years, have been introduced. The tables thus reformed do far exceed in accuracy any yet known. The French mathematicians, before they awarded the prize to M. Burg, examined the merits of his tables with much care, and compared them with a great number of Dr Maskelyne's observations, and of their own, such as M. Burg had not made use of in the composition of his work. The result was highly favourable. The error, in few cases, amounted to 10 or 12 seconds, which is but half of that which was met with in former tables. At p. 43, Mr Vince has given the formula from which the whole of the lunar equations are computed. An example of a calculation of the Moon's place is added, which now occupies, even when all its parts are disposed with the utmost regularity and good order, no less than two quarto pages. The accuracy of the result, however, is such, as will appear to astronomers, a full compensation for the increase of their labour. When the error of the tables is reduced to 10″,

a space which the Moon describes in her orbit in less than 20″ of time, the longitude may be found by lunar observation to an arch that corresponds to the third part of a minute of time, or to 5′ of a degree on the Earth's surface, or to 5 nautical miles; a degree of accuracy fully sufficient for all the purposes of navigation, and far beyond any expectation, that the most sanguine theorist, thirty years ago, could possibly have entertained. Such is the success with which Geometry has conducted the astronomer through the labyrinth of the lunar irregularities. Were Pliny alive, he might see the indignation, to which he has so emphatically alluded, now converted into exultation. *Multiformi hæc (Luna) ambage torsit ingenia contemplantium et proximum ignorari maxime sidus, indignantium.* The irregularities which so long obstructed the science of astronomy, have been the principal means of its advancement; and just in proportion to the difficulty of interpreting their language, is the force with which they depose in favour of the theory of gravitation.

The tables of the motions of the two inferior planets, Mercury and Venus, follow those of the Moon: the disturbance that either of these planets endures from the Earth, or from the superior planets, is too small to be taken into account in our calculations. The disturbing causes have the less effect, that, on these two planets, the solar action is very powerful. Venus gravitates to the Sun with more than twice the force, and Mercury with more than nine times the force with which the Earth gravitates.

The tables of Mars contain the disturbance in the motions of that planet, which arise from Jupiter, Venus, and the Earth; and therefore, they depend on the situation of Mars relatively to these three planets. These disturbances, together with the other equations of Mars, seem to be calculated with great exactness, and very much on the plan of those already mentioned. They are not said to be the work either of Burg or De Lambre; and therefore have, no doubt, been computed by Mr Vince himself.

The motions of Jupiter and Saturn, which are contained in the next tables, have been more difficult to determine with accuracy, than those of any other of the primary planets. The quantities of matter of these bodies, make their mutual action powerful; while their distance from the Sun weakens the controul of the central force.

Dr Halley, when he came to study the motions of these planets, found that the motion of Jupiter appeared to be accelerated, and that of Saturn retarded; and to explain this, he introduced two equations; that of Jupiter of 3° 49′ at its *maximum*; that of

Saturn 9° 15′, both of them having the same period, and running through the whole series of their changes in the space of 2000 years. These equations, however, were purely empirical; they were not deduced at all from the principles of gravitation; and they have since proved to be inaccurate; though, as a first approximation, they do honour to the research of Dr Halley, and the extent of his views. Euler, who, in the Memoir that gained the prize from the Academy of Sciences at Paris for 1752, was led to the consideration of this subject, found that, according to the theory of gravitation, the motion of Jupiter should be accelerated, and that of Saturn retarded, but as appeared to him by equal quantities; which was not agreeable to observation. These inequalities also appeared to Euler to be periodical, though the period was of great extent, no less than 324000 years. Euler, however, acknowledged, that some changes which he had made in the form of the quantities which he had to treat, in order to avoid difficulties that appeared to be insurmountable, might very well introduce great uncertainty into the extent of the above period; and he added, with the candour that belongs to real superiority, that he did not then know any method by which the amount of these alterations could be determined.

The nature of these inequalities, then, was very imperfectly understood; and it did not appear clear that they were circumscribed within any period, and were not of infinite extent, so as in reality to affect the mean motions; the one mean motion being destined to increase, and the other to decrease, without limit. La Grange undertook the solution of the same difficulty; but the method of approximation which he employed, was still such as to leave the result uncertain as to the periodic change or constant increase of these two irregularities. La Place afterwards engaged in the same investigation; and, having pushed his approximation further than either of the other geometers, he found that the inequalities were really periodical, and did not of course affect the mean motion of either of the planets. His process was not, however, so satisfactory as to remove all doubt; when La Grange was so fortunate as to give a complete demonstration of this great truth in physical astronomy, that all the changes which can happen in our system, in consequence of the law of gravitation, must needs be periodical, and cannot affect either the mean motion or the mean distance of any of the planets. *

Still, however, the exact amount of these equations, and of the period by which they are circumscribed, remained undetermined.

* Mem. Acad. Berlin, 1776.

mined. La Place undertook the conſideration of the queſtion anew, and came at laſt to the diſcovery of the theorems, by means of which theſe irregularities have been reduced into a table. He found, that both in the caſe of Jupiter and of Saturn, the argument of the equations is the ſame, viz. five times the mean longitude of Saturn — twice the mean longitude of Jupiter + 5° 34′ 8″ — $a \times 59''$, a being the number of years reckoned from 1750. The ſine of the arch made up of theſe five elements, multiplied into $20' 49\frac{1}{2}'' - a \times .0''427$ gives the equation for Jupiter; and multiplied into $-(48' 44'' - a \times 0''.1)$ the equation for Saturn. The period required for theſe equations to revolve or to paſs through the whole ſeries of their changes, is far leſs than that ſuſpected by Euler, but is ſtill very conſiderable. The argument above ſtated increaſes at the rate of 23′.51 annually; ſo that it requires 918.76 years to run over an entire circumference, or 360 degrees. It is not, therefore, till after the expiration of 918 years, and a little more than three quarters of a year, that the phenomena of theſe inequalities will return in the ſame order.

While theſe equations were unknown, the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn could never be accurately aſcertained. If the obſervations compared belonged to centuries, when the rate of Jupiter's motion, on account of this equation, was increaſing, his velocity or mean motion would come out too great; if the contrary took place, it would come out too ſmall; and the ſame as to Saturn. The knowledge of theſe equations was therefore quite eſſential to the accuracy of the tables of theſe planets.

There are, beſides theſe, ten other equations that expreſs as many inequalities in the motion of Jupiter produced by the action of Saturn, the algebraic expreſſion of which our author has given us, and which, if their *maxima* are all added together, amount nearly to twelve minutes. Beſides the great equation of Saturn already mentioned, there are ſix others which affect his motion, ariſing from the action of Jupiter, the amount of which, taken at their *maxima*, is greater than in the former caſe, amounting to 19′ 57″. The effects of the diſturbances on the linear diſtance of each of theſe planets from the ſun, is alſo exhibited in the tables.

The tables of Uranus, or, as that planet is here called, the GEORGIAN, follow thoſe of Saturn. The diſturbances of the motion of that planet by Jupiter and Saturn, are calculated according to the theory of La Place. They are ſeven in number; and when their *maxima* are added together, the ſum is 7′ 20″; a limit, which the whole diſturbance that this planet can ſuffer from its two powerful neighbours never can exceed.

It

It must be observed, that, in this planet, there is also an irregularity of a long period, viz. of 569 years, which astronomers must take into account when they determine the mean motion.

However uncourtly it may appear, we think it our duty to remonstrate with our author against the name of the GEORGIAN, which he has, in compliance with a fashion peculiar to the English, thought proper to give to the most remote of the planets. In a book of astronomical tables, so perfect as that which is now before us, destined, most probably, to go down itself, but certainly destined to convey its knowledge to latest generations, nothing of a perishable and temporary nature should be admitted. A term, therefore, should not have been introduced, which never will be recognized by posterity, and cannot obtain, either now or afterwards, the suffrage of any foreign nation. The experience of what has already happened, in similar circumstances, may assure us of what cannot fail to take place hereafter. The name of the *Medicean* stars, imposed on the satellites of Jupiter, was never received beyond the boundaries of Tuscany, and there only for a few years. Yet no sovereigns ever deserved better of literature and science than the family of Medici; and, if their name has not come down associated with the stars discovered by Galileo, so, neither are we to expect, that the name of the most respectable sovereign of the House of Brunswick is to continue united to the discoveries of Herschel. When the celebrated astronomer of Palermo discovered more lately a new planet, he called it by the name of CERES, and added the epithet of Ferdinandea. The name of Ceres is now universally recognized, and that of Ferdinandea as generally forgotten. It is true, that George the Third has many titles to be remembered by the friends of science, to which few of his contemporaries have any pretensions. One of these titles, of particular weight on the present occasion, consists in his having been the Patron and Benefactor of the great observer, by whom the limits of our system have been so much extended, and our notions of the universe so greatly enlarged. But the name of a mortal, though sometimes inscribed in the heavens, has never yet been given to any of the planets. In conformity with the general nomenclature of our system, URANUS belongs naturally to a body placed beyond the orb of Saturn. We shall therefore do well to anticipate the decision of posterity, by at once adopting a term that must ultimately prevail.

The tables that follow next, are those of the satellites of Jupiter. The motions of this planetary system, though withdrawn from common observation, and visible only to astronomers, are nevertheless peculiarly interesting, not only by their use for determining the longitude of places on the Earth, but from the verification

they

they afford of the law of gravitation, as inferred from the motion of the primary planets. The determination of the motions of the ſatellites, however, is attended with peculiar difficulties. Their orbits are ſeen ſo obliquely from the Earth, that their angular motions about their primary are not objects of direct obſervation; and the laws of thoſe motions are inferred, chiefly from the eclipſes that the ſatellites ſuffer when they fall into the ſhadow of Jupiter. In conſequence of this, it remained for a long time doubtful whether all the phenomena accompanying them could be explained by the principle of gravitation alone. The moſt accurate tables of the ſatellites, till very lately, were thoſe of Wargentin, which contained ſeveral empirical corrections, adopted to explain appearances, but without any inveſtigation into the cauſes or the principles by which they were produced. But in the tables before us, the reproach of empiriciſm is completely baniſhed from this as well as every other part of aſtronomy. In the caſe of the ſatellites, this was not done without great difficulty. La Place found the whole theory of their motion contained in twelve differential equations of the ſecond order, from the integration of which, twenty-four conſtant but unknown quantities were introduced. In this ſtate, he gave over the calculus to De Lambre, who determined theſe quantities by a compariſon of the formulas with obſervation, (*Méch. Céleste, vol.* iv. *p.* 68.) on the principles already mentioned, when we were ſpeaking of the tables of the Moon.

The firſt ſatellite moves in the plane of Jupiter's equator, and deſcribes a circular orbit, in which no eccentricity or inequality, ariſing from its eccentricity, has been diſcovered. It participates a little, nevertheleſs, of the eccentricity of the third and fourth ſatellites, which are both conſiderable, and which, by the mutual gravitation of all the four, are ſympathetically imparted to the firſt and ſecond. The only conſiderable inequality, however, in the motion of the firſt, is that which ariſes from the attraction of the ſecond, and has, for its argument, twice their difference of longitude as ſeen from Jupiter. From this equation, which has for its period an interval of 437 days, with the decimal .659 of a day, La Place has determined the maſs of the ſecond ſatellite.

The eclipſes of the firſt ſatellite are remarkable for having given occaſion to the diſcovery of the velocity of light. On reviewing this ſubject, M. de Lambre makes the time that light takes to deſcribe the mean diſtance between Jupiter and the Sun 42′ 46″; and between the Sun and the Earth 8′ 13″.2; from whence the aberration of the Stars comes out 20″.255, agreeing perfectly with Dr Bradley's obſervations. From this, as La Place has remarked (*Méch. Céleste, tom.* IV. *Introd.*) it neceſſarily follows, that

light

light has the same velocity over the whole space between Jupiter and the Earth, that it has when it arrives at the surface of the Earth.

The second satellite is disturbed both by the first and third; the course of its inequalities, as well as of the first, is circumscribed by the space of 437".659, above mentioned.

The motion of the third satellite is subject to some curious anomalies, which are nevertheless perfectly consistent with the theory of gravitation. This planet has two distinct equations of the centre, belonging to two different axes and two different eccentricities. The one of these has been proved by La Place to belong to the orbit of the satellite itself; the other is an emanation, as it were, from the eccentricity of the fourth satellite. This inequality, therefore, depends not on the magnitude and position of the eccentricity of the orbit of the third satellite itself, but on the magnitude and position of the eccentricity of the fourth, and is a necessary, though very unexpected, result of the equality of action and reaction. It is remarkable, that the Swedish astronomer Wargentin, from the mere comparison of the eclipses of the satellites, suspected the existence in this satellite of two equations of the centre; but, not perceiving that the one of these equations was to be reckoned from the apsis of the fourth satellite, he found that his hypothesis could not be reconciled with appearances, and so abandoned it for another which could at least be reconciled with them for a time; but not for a long period, because it is not consistent with the principle of gravitation. This fact seems to show to what extent the laws of the planetary motions might become known, by observation alone, in the hands of ingenious men, and how very limited, at least in complicated cases, that extent would be, if it received no assistance from the science of dynamics, and the theory of gravitation.

The fourth satellite moves in a plane somewhat inclined to the equator of Jupiter; and its nodes have a retrograde motion, by which they go back an entire circumference in 531 years. In consequence of this motion, the inclination of the orbit of the satellite to the plane of Jupiter's orbit varies continually; it was at a maximum between the years 1680 and 1760, and continued nearly the same for a long time; but of late it has increased again, according to a law which it would have been very difficult to discover, without the aid of theory. All these variations are accurately expressed in the tables. The eccentricity of this satellite, and the equation of its centre, are greater than those of the third.

One of the most remarkable results from the theory on which these tables are founded, is the knowledge of the masses of the satellites

satellites relatively to Jupiter. It follows, from the calculus of La Place, that the third satellite, which is the largest, is about the 11300dth part of the mass of Jupiter; or, to express it by means of a unit with which we are more familiar, about double the mass of the Moon, taking this last as $\frac{1}{68.5}$ of the quantity of matter in the Earth. The fourth, or outermost satellite, is nearly half the third, and is therefore nearly equal to the Moon; the second satellite contains about half the quantity of matter of the Moon; and the first, or innermost, about two-fifths. These masses of the satellites are derived from their action on one another, and the degree in which that action modifies the force of Jupiter itself. Another result, from the same source, is very satisfactory. The want of sphericity in Jupiter, or his oblateness, as it makes his attraction decrease not exactly in the inverse ratio of the squares of the distances, affects the motions of the satellites, and is particularly sensible by its effect on the duration of their eclipses. These considerations make the polar axis of Jupiter .9287, the equatorial diameter being 1. Actual observations with the micrometer, taking a mean, gives .929; between which and the former result there is no sensible difference. This shows, as La Place remarks, that the attraction of Jupiter is composed of the attraction of all its particles, since the observed compression of this planet does so perfectly agree with the motions of the apsides, and the nodes of the orbits of the satellites.

In these remarks on the tables of the satellites, we have chiefly followed the information of La Place, in the fourth volume of the *Méchanique Céleste*. The instructions prefixed to the tables in the volume before us, contain very little information about their construction. They are confined to what is merely technical, or to what is necessary for directing the calculator in the use of the tables. To this object they are well adapted, and are drawn up with accuracy and distinctness. Whether they are the work of De Lambre or Mr Vince, we are not informed.

The tables contained in this volume stand thus

Solar tables	31
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Venus	7
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Jupiter	28
Saturn	19
Georgian	17
Satellites of Jupiter	51

being

being in all 248 in number, and occupying 244 pages, of which 117, or nearly one half, are devoted to the satellites of Jupiter.

The volume before us, besides the tables that have been enumerated, contains nine for computing the astronomical refraction according to the formulas investigated by La Place in the tenth book of the *Méchanique Céleste.*

We are left here, as in several other places, at a loss to determine what part of these tables is the work of Mr Vince, and what part belongs to De Lambre or some other of the French astronomers. To judge from internal evidence, we should think that all those where the *metre* is used for measuring the height of the barometer, and where the thermometer has the centesimal division, are taken from the French. Those, again, which serve to reduce the metre to English feet, or the centesimal thermometer to Fahrenheit's, are, no doubt, of home manufacture. Out of the nine tables then, we will ascribe, on this principle, only two to Mr Vince, and those of a very simple construction. If in this estimate we do injustice to our author, he is himself to blame for not having given us more explicit information.

By means of these tables, we hope that more accuracy will be given to the determination of the atmospherical refraction than has been done hitherto. More simplicity, if it could be obtained, we must say, seems still desirable; we are also far from thinking that the hypothesis introduced by La Place into his investigations on this subject, is free from objection. On the subject of refraction, something more simple and satisfactory may perhaps still be looked for. To the other parts of these tables, we cannot extend a similar conjecture.

Among the instructions prefixed to the tables, we find a few pages on the method of determining the coefficients, or constant quantities in astronomical equations, when the form of these equations is known. One of them is by Dr Maskelyne, and displays that address in uniting the facility with the accuracy of calculation which is so characteristic of the writings of that astronomer. Another method of resolving the same problem, also very ingenious, is given by Mr Vince himself. These investigations both belong to the head of conditional equations, of which mention has been already made.

We cannot but consider the tables now described as forming a great epoch in astronomical science; one that is memorable now, and that will be more memorable hereafter. These tables contain no equations, nor allowances for irregularity, that the theory of gravitation does not involve in it; and they contain, we believe, all those which that theory does involve. This cannot be affirmed of any astronomical tables that have

have hitherto existed. Those of Halley contained some equations that were empirical, and under a form, as such equations are very likely to be, that was imperfect; so that they became every day less conformable to the appearances which they were meant to express. His tables also wanted a vast number of those equations which the theory of gravitation has since pointed out, and of which the amount, before they were so pointed out, was rendered evident, by the inaccuracy of the tables, even when they were most perfect. The tables of Mayer and La Lande came much nearer perfection: they were constructed after the problem of the *Three Bodies* had been resolved; and they contained a great number, though not all of the equations, deducible from the solution of it. But as the *Méchanique Céleste* of La Place is the only work in which the whole of the conclusions from that problem, and consequently from the principle of gravitation, are fully developed; so it is since the publication of that work that the calculations of De Lambre and others have given to the tables of astronomy all the correctness which the combination of theory and observation is able to afford. The tables thus produced are extremely exact; and if they have any imperfections, it must be left for future observation to discover them. If even they, like all former tables, shall gradually recede from nature; if they shall agree with the heavens the less, the longer they continue to be compared with them; then must one of two conclusions be admitted. Either some of the consequences from the principle of gravitation must lye so deep as to have escaped the profoundest investigations that have yet been made in science; and as the Moon's great equation, and the great equations of Jupiter and Saturn, had withstood the efforts of all the mathematicians before La Place, so are there still some that have eluded his sagacity. But if this cannot be admitted, then must we suppose some other principle than the mutual gravitation of the particles of matter, to affect the motion of the heavenly bodies. At present we have no reason to think that either of these suppositions is true. The theory of La Place is already compared, not with a single point, or with the state of the heavens as observed for a few years, but as observed from the beginning of astronomical science, or for more than 2000 years. But as, after all, the ultimate decision of these questions must be referred to experience and observation, the period at which this reference was first made by the publication of these tables, is an era, to which, we are persuaded, that the astronomers and philosophers of future ages, however perfect the condition of knowledge of which they may be destined to participate, will look back with respect and gratitude.

Though it must be acknowledged, that the mathematicians of this

this country, since the time of Newton, have had little share in the difficult and arduous researches to which these tables owe their perfection, we have great pleasure in remarking, how much, as far as observation is concerned, is due to the skill of our astronomers. The observations of Bradley and Maskelyne, have afforded the only *data* sufficiently correct to enter into the calculus of La Place and De Lambre. It is satisfactory to see this merit so well stated, and so candidly acknowledged, in the letter above quoted. Notwithstanding the spirit of hostility that has so long animated England and France against one another, it is comfortable to think that there are a few men in each, impartial enough to do justice to the merits of one another.

Though we must leave to futurity the ultimate decision of the question, whether any power beside that of gravity is concerned in the motions of the heavenly bodies, we cannot help entertaining the belief that no other will be found, and that the law resulting from that principle, *viz.* that the irregularities of our system are all periodical, will be confirmed by the experience of all future ages. Not doubting the existence of this law, so conformable to the wisdom and beneficence of the Author of nature, we must consider the curious question that was agitated between Newton and Leibnitz, concerning the permanence of our system, as completely resolved. The former being aware of the disturbance or irregularity produced on one planet by the action of another, suspected that such inequalities might increase in the lapse of time, so as to bring about the ruin of the system, unless the power of the Creator were interposed to restore that order which it had originally established. Against this doctrine, so contrary to the principles of his philosophy, and leading to conclusions which he deemed so inconsistent with the wisdom and foresight of the Supreme Being, Leibnitz remonstrated with great warmth. He argued, that it was to entertain very narrow and inadequate ideas of Divine perfection, to suppose that the Author of nature could be reduced to the necessity of amending what he had done; that he had made a world, which, like a clock or watch, required to be wound up and refitted at certain intervals; or that he had created a system which carried in itself the principles of its own destruction. Dr Clerk undertook the defence of Newton, and combated with great acuteness the only metaphysician in the world to whom he could be deemed inferior. Into this controversy, however, it is not necessary for us to enter, as Geometry has now decided the question, and has no longer left it for a subject of metaphysical dispute. The calculations of La Grange and La Place have shown, that Newton and Leibnitz were, in some respects, both in the right; in other respects, both in the wrong. They have proved,

proved, that the irregularities which the former suspected are real, but so curiously adjusted in the actual state of our system, that they are all periodical, and that, in the midst of them, the period of every planet's revolution, and its mean distance from the Sun, are for ever unassailable by any of the causes of change. By the permanence of these two elements, as by an immoveable bulwark, order and regularity are preserved in our system; confusion and disorder eternally excluded. There is no danger, therefore, of that accumulation of irregularities which Newton suspected: and such is the constitution of the world, that a preternatural interposition may be necessary to destroy, but cannot be necessary to preserve it.

Newton, therefore, was fully justified in supposing the existence of such disturbances; and it can hardly be imputed to him as an error, that he did not know, that, in the lapse of time, there will be a perfect compensation among these disturbances,—a discovery which, at that time, it was impossible for him to make, and which, after a century of the most laborious research, his own Geometry has only lately revealed to some of his most favoured disciples.

Leibnitz, on the other hand, though he was right in his conclusion, that no preternatural interposition is necessary to support the present order, was wrong, if he denied the existence of the disturbances to which that order is in fact unavoidably exposed. He also argued in a manner in which he had no right to do, if, supposing those disturbances to exist, he yet maintained that they could not ultimately produce confusion. He here took for granted a proposition which we now know to be true, but which, in his time, was impossible to be proved. His argument implied, that there is no geometrical or numerical impossibility in constructing a system, so that the mutual action of its parts, according to any one general law, should produce neither change nor derangement of the mean or average condition of the whole. For ought that he knew, or had any means of discovering, there might be, in this supposition, a palpable absurdity, like that of extracting the square root of a negative quantity, or describing a square, of which the diagonal and the side should be commensurable with one another. There might be here some of the barriers which nothing can overcome, and which the power that is most wisely directed will be least disposed to counteract. If, notwithstanding this great assumption, Leibnitz arrived at a just conclusion, we may admire the boldness, but we must acknowledge the *felicity* of his argumentation. In the reasoning of Newton, though the conclusion was erroneous, we perceive the caution and depth which are characteristic of his philosophy.

ART. VII. *A Series of Discourses on the Principles of Religion, Belief, as connected with Human Happiness and Improvement.* By the Reverend Robert Morehead, A. M. of Baliol College, Oxford, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 450. London and Edinburgh. 1809.

THERE is a very remarkable passage in Bishop Burnet's history of his own times, to which we have often wished to call the attention of the clergy of the present day. It occurs near the beginning of the Second Book, where, speaking of the state of religion at the period of the Restoration, he observes, that the outrageous zeal and fervour of the sectarians, having partly spent itself by its own extravagance, and been partly discredited by the recent change in the government, the minds of men were naturally hurried into an opposite extreme; and a general spirit of impiety spread itself through the body of the nation. The churchmen, rejoiced to get back to their livings, and secure in the favour of government, were in general given up to sloth and negligence; and religion was in no little danger, says Burnet, of falling into general disesteem, if a new set of men had not appeared of a very different character and description. These, he states, were generally of Cambridge; and trained under *Cudworth, Wilkins, More, Whitchcote,* and some others, who, perceiving that the minds of men required to be more liberally enlightened, and their affections to be more powerfully engaged on the side of religion than was formerly thought necessary, set themselves, as the Bishop expresses it, 'to raise those who conversed with 'them to a nobler sort of thoughts, and to consider the Chris-'tian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to *elevate* and 'to *sweeten* human nature.' With this view, he further informs us, 'they laboured chiefly to take men off from being in parties, 'from narrow notions, and fierceness about opinions. They al-'so continued to keep up a good correspondence with those who 'differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom 'both in philosophy and in divinity.' Out of this seminary, and from this sort of training, came *Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick* and others, who, by their liberal and enlarged views of religion, their great powers of reasoning, and, above all, by the 'gentleness and reasonableness of their way of explaining things,' reclaimed the great body of the people, both from the dregs of fanaticism, and the folly of impiety; and may be said to have rescued the nation from a long night of spiritual and moral darkness.

It is impossible for any reflecting person not to see the application of these passages to the times which lye before us. Fanatics

tics and sectaries have, for many years, been propagating doctrines as absurd and extravagant as any which signalized the days of the Commonwealth; and rational religion, sound learning, argument, and common sense, have been set at defiance at least as daringly, and, we believe, among a much larger proportion of the people. In the present state of society, however, this cannot be expected to last long. Intelligence and habits of reasoning are now too generally diffused, to make it possible that such pestilent absurdities should continue to influence so large a part of the community. They will fall before the ridicule which they provoke, and the alarm which they naturally excite. The hot fit will go off; and it will be succeeded, we fear, by a cold one, still more distressing and deadly. Men, awakened from the delirium of Methodism, and looking with shame and disgust upon the extrvagancies of their supposed inspiration, will be but too apt to consider religion in general as an illusion, and to go headlong into all the folly and the profligacy of infidelity. The great body of our present fanatics are persons in the lowest ranks of society; and it is a maxim indeed with the whole sect, to discourage the use and cultivation of mere human reason. When their fever subsides, therefore, it is very unlikely that they will settle of themselves in any system of moderation, or be able to perceive the boundaries which divide enthusiasm from piety. In estimating the dangers of this revulsion, too, it is necessary to remember, that almost all the existing sects inculcate a rigid and self-denying morality, at least with regard to all the grosser and more ordinary vices of the vulgar, and that it is probable that their prevalence may have had considerable effect in repressing that dissoluteness of manners, to which the increasing wealth of society has held out so much temptation. If these great multitudes, therefore, are suddenly let loose from their present restraints, and not placed, at the same time, under the controul of a more rational principle, there is obviously great reason to fear that irreligion and licentiousness will take joint possession of the community, and that we shall pay for the fanaticism which now deforms our society, by a long period of vice and disorder.

These considerations, while they bring more into view the extent of the mischief of that delirious enthusiasm, which is still more pernicious in its remote consequences than in its immediate effects, naturally lead us to consider what remedy can be provided for a state of things so alarming. And here, the example of the great and judicious divines commemorated by Burnet, naturally suggests itself as peculiarly worthy of imitation. We are afraid our present race of preachers is not exactly of that description;—and that examples are now but rare, either of that lofty think-

ing,—that aversion from party and fierceness for opinions,—or of that gentleness and reasonableness of manner which won over the Puritans in the days of King Charles, and saved those who had renounced fanaticism from renouncing Christianity along with it. A certain tame and languid triteness—a puny scholarship—and either a supercilious feebleness, or a haughty and revolting asperity, are the characteristics of most of our modern sermons. It is not, we fear, by such arms, that the cause of true religion is now to be maintained; nor can the Church hope, by such a system of warfare, either to reclaim the mutinous bands of the sectaries, or to repress the more dreadful disorders which may be apprehended from their sudden disbanding. What religion now requires in her ministers, is a warmer zeal, and a more kind and ardent affection,—a large, tolerating, and profound reason, and a gentle and conciliating address;—something to remove the fanatic charge of coldness and indifference,—and a great deal to conciliate and attract those, who, from prejudice or habitual disregard, are now disposed to shut their ears to their instructions.

Whether the author before us had any view to the present critical state of religious opinions in this country, we cannot pretend to determine; but what he has here done appears to us to be excellently calculated to meet it. His book is written with great force of reasoning, and great earnestness of manner; and, while he endeavours to conciliate the haughty prejudices of the philosopher, by large and profound views as to the reasonableness and evidences of religious belief, he labours to rouse and awaken the indifferent, by the most animated exposition of its importance; and, above all, to win the attention and good will even of the prejudiced and disaffected, by an uniform strain of affectionate and indulgent anxiety, and a sort of parental gentleness and kindness of feeling, which appears to us to be truly evangelical. It is this singular and unaffected benevolence of manner,—this tone of genuine goodness and conciliating candour, so unlike the contemptuous arrogance of vulgar theologians, that forms the chief charm of the volume before us; and induces us to point it out to the attention of the public, as eminently calculated to fix the principles of the young and careless, and to improve the charity and mend the hearts of readers of every description. It is but fair, however, that Mr Morehead should be allowed to explain the objects he had in view in his own language.

'It has been my design,' (he observes in the preface), 'in the following discourses, to exhibit a view both of the evidences and the effects of religious belief, somewhat more simple and popular than has usually been attempted; and without fatiguing the reader with controversy, or overwhelming him with facts, to fix his attention upon

upon those great principles, both in the constitution of man, and in the visible administration of Providence, that seem to lead most directly to a sense of the truth and the benefits of religion.

'Much has been written, both recently and in older times, upon this most important of all subjects; and the grounds of our faith have been vindicated by many eminent divines and philosophers, with a force of reasoning and an extent of learning, to which nothing, it is probable, can now be added or replied. These profound and argumentative writers, however, are not always intelligible, and are but rarely attractive, to the multitude whom they would reclaim from error; and vainly multiply their proofs and refutations, to an audience whom they have not engaged to be attentive.

'To me it has always appeared, that the greater part of those who are indifferent to the truths of religion, have been left in this state rather through an indolent misapprehension of its true nature and general foundations, than from the effect of any positive error, or false creed of philosophy. Controversy, or formal argument, therefore, will have but little effect upon them; and their cure is to be effected, not by *topical* applications of detailed proof or special refutation, but by the general *tonics* of more enlightened and comprehensive views as to the nature of man and of the universe,—arguments that point out the connexion and consonancy between religion and all that we know or feel of existence,—and reflections which tend to cultivate those dispositions which lay the foundations of religious belief, not only in our understanding, but our affections.

'It has sometimes appeared to me also, that many of our orthodox writers have assumed too severe and contemptuous a tone towards those whom they laboured to convert; and have employed a certain haughty sternness of manner, which is not perhaps altogether suitable to the mildness of the gospel of peace, and which has, at any rate, an obvious tendency to indispose many from listening to their instructions.' Preface, p. vii.—x.

The discourses themselves, which are twenty-eight in number, are not formally connected with each other; but treat successively of subjects which have a natural affinity, and are arranged in such an order, as to lead the reader gradually from the more elementary principles to the practical conclusions. They begin with general views of natural religion, and of the moral and religious nature of man; and pass on through the proofs of immortality to the consideration of the reasonableness of faith, and the evidences of revelation. The benefits of religion are then considered in its connexion with charity, and pure and enlightened morality in general—in its power of consolation, and its tendency 'to sweeten and elevate human nature.' The subject is wound up with some very striking discussions on religious education, on public worship, and on the practice of meditation. The discourses are each of them extremely short and perspicuous—en-

tering at once into the subject of consideration—and, without the formality of a methodical argument, bringing strongly forward the most comprehensive and original views with regard to it, and colouring the whole with the persuasive eloquence of kind and exalted feeling.

It is impossible, in a work of this nature, to give our readers any just idea of the merit of the didactic or argumentative parts of such a publication. Almost all we can do is, to lay before them a fair specimen of the author's manner of thinking and writing: and we make our first extract from a sermon on the consolation to be derived from religion in affliction, exemplified in the case of the loss of children. The immediate occasion of this discourse seems to have been suggested by the prevalence of a violent epidemic among the children in the author's place of residence; and it is written throughout with that touching and tender eloquence which flows almost spontaneously from the heart of a good man in the presence of real sorrow. After reciting the text of Rachel weeping for her children, the author goes on—

'In the hour in which I speak, my brethren, such a voice, I fear, is but too frequent in the houses of our city; and many a tear is now falling from the eyes of parents over the lifeless remains of infant innocence and beauty. The same God, who, on one memorable occasion, permitted a bloody tyrant to be the minister of his inscrutable designs, in the destruction of holy innocents, more frequently sends disease among the young of his people; and, year after year, as at the present hour, many a spotless soul returns to him, untried by the dangers, and unpolluted by the sins of that earthly course on which it had begun to enter. It is an hour in which even Religion must for a time be still, and listen, with sacred respect, to the voice of Nature, which, even in its excesses of "*lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning,*" is yet the voice of God in the human heart. When she may speak, however, Religion can utter the words of consolation; and it is her office to seize upon those hours when the hearts of some are broken with affliction, and when many are trembling with apprehension; and to press those lessons of wisdom, which are heard too often with indifference, in the pride and the gaiety of common life.

'To those who are not parents, a dispensation of this kind may seem, perhaps, of a much less afflicting nature than many others. A child is but an insignificant object in the eye of the world, and seems but a trifling loss to society. To a parent, however, those very circumstances, which render his child of little value to others, are the most attractive. It is his delight to retire from the serious cares and busy occupations of men into the unanxious scenes of childish playfulness; to repose his thoughts upon some countenances on which the world has left no traces of care, and vice has impressed no marks of disorder; and to find within his own house, and sprung from his own

own loins, some forms which recal the image of primeval innocence, and anticipate the society of heaven. When these innocent beings are torn from us, we suffer a calamity, with which a stranger, indeed, will imperfectly sympathise, but of which the heart knoweth the bitterness; and the sorrow may only be the deeper, and more heartfelt, that it must be disguised and smothered from an unpitying world.

'To such sorrows of the heart, it is the office of Religion to apply the words of consolation; and when the first tumults of grief are at an end, to inspire the soul of the mourner with loftier sentiments. She suggests, in the first place, that, in the kingdom of God, there is no loss of existence; that the hand of infinite wisdom changes, indeed, the sphere of action in which the rational soul is destined to move, but never deprives it of the being which the hand of beneficence bestowed. She points to a higher world, in which the inhabitants are "*as little children*;" and she hesitates not to affirm, that the soul of infant innocence finds its way to that region of purity, the air of which it seemed to breathe while yet below. She speaks here with a voice of confidence which may sometimes fail to be inspired, even from the contemplation of a long life spent in the practice of virtue. The best men have contracted many failings in the course of their earthly trial; and when we commit their bodies to the dust, while Religion calls upon us to look forward to their final destiny with holy hope, she yet permits some foreboding fears to cloud the brightness of the prospect. In less favourable cases, all we can do is to withdraw our minds from the vices of the departed, and rather to fix them, with apprehension and purposes of amendment, upon our own. But when we follow to the grave the body of untried innocence, we at the same time restore to the Father of spirits the soul which he gave, yet unpolluted by the vices of time, and still an inmate meet for eternity. When the tears of nature are over, faith may here look up with an unclouded eye, and see that Saviour, whose descent upon earth cost so many tears to the mothers of Bethlehem, now speaking comfort to the mothers of his people, and telling them, that he who here below "*suffered little children to come unto him,*" still delights to throw around them the arms of his love, when, like him, they have burst the bonds of mortality.' p. 301—308.

After some further reflections, equally beautiful and impressive, the author winds up this part of his subject by the following soothing and original suggestion.

'We are all well aware of the influence of the world: we know how strongly it engages our thoughts, and debases the springs of our actions: we all know how important it is to have the spirits of our minds renewed, and the rust which gathers over them cleared away. One of the principal advantages, perhaps, which arises from the possession of children, is, that in their society the simplicity of our nature is constantly recalled to our view; and that, when we return from the cares and thoughts of the world into our domestic circle, we behold beings whose happiness springs from no

false estimates of worldy good, but from the benevolent instincts of nature. The same moral advantage is often derived, in a greater degree, from the memory of those children who have left us. Their simple characters dwell upon our minds with a deeper impression; their least actions return to our thoughts with more force than if we had it still in our power to witness them; and they return to us clothed in that saintly garb which belongs to the possessors of a higher existence. We feel that there is now a link connecting us with a purer and a better scene of being; that a part of ourselves has gone before us into the bosom of God; and that the same happy creatures which here on earth showed us the simple sources from which happiness springs, now hover over us, and scatter from their wings the graces and beatitudes of eternity.' p. 310, 311.

The same tenderness of heart, and the same sweet and engaging eloquence, is observable in the following passage, in the sermon 'on the Nativity of Christ;' in which a new view, we think, is taken, and a new use made, of the circumstances of that great event. After mentioning the prodigies which announced the birth of the Redeemer, the preacher proceeds—

'The beauty and solemnity of these miraculous occurrences are greatly enhanced by the plain and homely character of the natural appearances with which they are contrasted, and with which, at the same time, they so harmoniously combine. The mighty event which called down an angel of God to visit the virgin solitude of the daughter of David; which brought the host of heaven to speak peace and joy to the simple innocence of shepherds; which interrupted the calm speculations of the Eastern sages, and impelled them to follow a miraculous sign into a foreign land; seemed, to all outward appearance, to be nothing more than the birth of a child in some of the lowest circumstances of human fortune. "*When they were come into the house* (says the Evangelist, speaking of the wise men), *they saw the young child, with Mary his mother.*"

'It is possible, that this simple and unimposing form in which our Saviour is first presented to us, may operate with some minds to the prejudice of his religion: I shall therefore endeavour, in a very few words, to show, that, on the contrary, it affords a strong confirmation of its truth; that it corresponds exactly with the wants and wishes of the human heart; and, finally, that there is a striking coincidence between this first appearance of our Lord, and the whole genius and spirit of Christianity.

'In the first place, then, is it possible that any messenger from heaven could come before us in circumstances more completely inconsistent with the supposition of artifice or imposture? "*When they were come into the house, they beheld the young child, with Mary his mother.*" What is there here to excite our most jealous apprehensions, or to afford a ground of suspicion to the most vigilant distrust? Is it possible that, in this simple domestic scene, the seeds of deception should be striking root? Was the mother mingling with

with her caresses the proud thought that her son was destined to lead after him a deluded world? or was the infant, while he answered to her smiles, dreaming of the enterprise which lay before him? When we behold a dark-minded prophet issuing from the depth of solitudes and deserts, infusing a lofty enthusiasm into the minds of a barbarous people, and leading them on to conquest and devastation, we, who are beyond the sphere of the delusion, can at once affirm, notwithstanding the splendour of his success, that he owed it to hypocrisy and deception. How different the scene here presented to us! It is humble, and makes no pretensions; but it finds its way into our souls by the same passages by which truth is conveyed to them. When we are in the presence of "*the young child, and Mary his mother,*" do not our hearts inform us, that the God of truth is not far from us?" p. 99—102.

After alluding to the natural desire of all men to find something condescending and sympathetic blended with the majesty of the Heavenly Instructor, the author proceeds—

'I am only at present led to remark to you in what a pleasing manner this circumstance is corroborated by the little simple incident now before us, and the short glimpse afforded us of the infant years of Jesus, while he was yet an inmate in the house of his parents, and before he felt himself called upon to execute the mighty designs for which he was sent into the world. How beautifully is the awful character of a supernatural instructor softened down by these means to our hearts and affections! Can we be afraid of approaching a child? Is there any thing in the house of Mary which can excite our apprehension and alarm?

'My third remark was, that there is a very striking coincidence between this first appearance of our Lord, and the whole genius and spirit of Christianity. It is a remarkable characteristic of our religion, that while it is doing every thing for the good of mankind which can be done, it yet seems to be doing nothing. It resides in the hearts of the faithful, and silently influences the conduct of their lives. It flows in a quiet stream through nations and communities of men, and, by an unobserved principle of improvement, refines and beautifies their manners and institutions. It is secretly, and by slow degrees, bringing in that "*better kingdom, wherein dwelleth eternal righteousness;*" and yet, to the eyes of the world, every thing seems to be proceeding as it had done from the beginning. With this gentle and unobtrusive form, in which Christianity at all times appears to us, the history of its introduction corresponds. The miracles which then accompanied its progress were exhibited to those only who could feel their value. No vain display of prodigies interrupted the course of nature and the business of the world; no portents of terror shook the world at the descent of its Creator. When the Eastern sages came with splendid offerings, in expectation of finding some royal babe, they were introduced to the lowly dwelling and

and the humble group of the text, "*the young child, with Mary his mother.*"

'Further, my brethren, Christianity is the religion of love and mercy;—and, therefore, its Author is first presented to us in the most amiable of all human forms. It is the religion of a pure and simple heart;—and its Author first appears to us in the very shape and image of simplicity and innocence. "*Suffer little children to come unto me* (says he), *for of such is the kingdom of heaven;*"—and he himself, accordingly, first comes to us as a little child. When the law was given to the Jews, it was proclaimed with circumstances of terror corresponding to the nature of the institution. The voice of God was heard from Mount Sinai, speaking from the thunders and lightnings. The gospel of peace springs up to us from the cradle of an infant!' p. 104—107.

We may make our next extract from one of the sermons upon Immortality. The text is Ezekiel's vision of dry bones; and we quote a few passages, as a specimen of the interest and animation which Mr Morehead can communicate even to subjects which may appear the most trite and familiar.

'The opening of this description, my brethren, presents a picture which we are naturally averse to contemplate. We fly from it into the scenes of dissipation; "*the harp and the viol are in our feasts;*" and we seek to banish, in the transitory enjoyments of our being, the forebodings of its final close. There are times, however, when "*the hand of the Lord is upon us,*" and when the most thoughtless of us are "*carried out in the Spirit of the Lord, and are set down in the midst of the valley which is full of bones.*" We are called, perhaps, to follow to the grave the parents whom we venerated and loved; the companions of our youth, or the partners of our affections, drop down in the dust before us; even the buds of infancy are nipped; and those new affections, which seemed to carry us forward into a long futurity, are suddenly crushed in the moment of their formation. We then willingly sit down with the prophet "*in the midst of the valley which is full of bones.*" We hear the wind sigh through the grass which covers them; we raise our languid eyes, and fix them on the monuments of mortality; we "*pass by them round about;*" the world, with all its splendour, and toil, and gaiety, vanishes from our sight: and we are drawn, by an irresistible impulse, to contemplate, with undivided attention, the gloomy scene, in which all we have admired or valued here, must inevitably terminate; on the "*very many bones in the open valley,*" deprived of every principle of life, and become "*very dry.*"

'In these moments of melancholy thought, when all the occupations of men seem insignificant, and for no end; when the labours or the enjoyments which fill up the space of our "*few and evil days*" seem only to deceive us with false hopes, or to give us a taste of happiness which must speedily pass away; when the beauty of creation itself is

is lost to us, and the sun which shines above our heads seems only to "light us to the tomb;" what, I beseech you, is the only inquiry which we are anxious to make, the only information we are willing to receive? The voice which spoke to the prophet is then heard to speak in every human heart, and to utter the words of incalculable import, "*Son of man, can these bones live?*" The reply to this solemn inquiry will not, in that hour, my brethren, be the careless trifling of the sophist. The lofty mind of man will not then stoop to play tricks with its own ingenuity; but the eye of nature will be raised to heaven, burning through its tears; and the voice of the heart will cry aloud to the Father of existence, and will seek from him the knowledge of the destiny of man. "*O Lord God, thou knowest.*" The gloom of the grave is no darkness to thee; thou breathest into man the breath of life, and thou takest it away; thou alone canst tell whether his being may be renewed!

'It is thus we may interpret the reply of the prophet; and it is in this manner that light begins to break in upon the obscurity of "*the valley which is full of bones.*" With what gratitude are the first rays of that celestial light then hailed; and how eagerly does the soul apply for still further illumination to that living Source whence alone it can flow! How many doubts and misgivings are dispelled, when the God of nature is once fairly recognized; and, when the appeal is made to him, how willingly does he insinuate the prophecy of immortality!' p. 181—3.

The following eloquent recommendation of Christian charity, in our judgments of each other, exemplifies, in a striking manner, what we said in the outset, of the characteristic indulgence and liberality of this author.

'Yet in however sad a condition,—into whatever disorder man is thrown, he still retains some vestiges of his high original, and never seems entirely lost to the sense of good. When he is a martyr to vice, he hangs his head, and blushes with the consciousness which oppresses him; and if he should be unable to cast off the yoke, he yet shows that it is grievous to be borne. The most shameless characters will, in general, be found to be those who have had the least opportunity of knowing what is good; who, from the misfortunes of their childhood, have been thrown loose upon society, and accustomed, from their earliest years, to low and degenerate infamy. Indeed, on whatever forms of vice we fix our attention, something will occur to palliate; no man will appear radically and innately bad; and the race of men in general will seem rather to be labouring under a heavy misfortune, than to be the objects of unrelenting vengeance.

'If, then, my brethren, we could assume the station of some superior being, qualified to sit as judge on man,—himself exempt from human weaknesses, and only the spectator of human conduct,—even from such a station we could scarcely look down on this poor mortal creature with any other emotions than those of tenderness and

and pity. True; we should be astonished with the view of extravagant folly; we should be shocked with the sight of detestable guilt; we should be confounded with seeing a creature formed to be good and happy, immersing itself in depravity, and running headlong to destruction. Yet there would be always something in man which would make pity predominate; and when we gazed in horror at the hardened ruffian, dealing in blood and breathing fury, we should still recollect the innocent playfulness of the same creature, while yet a child in its mother's arms.

'Such seems to be the aspect in which man has appeared to the great Being from whom he originally proceeded; and who, notwithstanding all his wanderings, has yet not discarded for ever this prodigal son. Some beings, we are told, of a higher nature than ours, have lost themselves so far, and have been guilty of such flagrant disobedience, that the Almighty has abandoned them to destruction. But to man an extraordinary rescue has been granted, and the most compassionate of all Beings has been sent into the world, to instruct, to comfort, and to die for him. Solicitations and entreaties have been made to call in the greatest sinners; and no human being appears too mean and despicable to receive the offer of heaven and of eternal happiness.

'Such is man in the eye of God; what, then, ought he to be in the eye of man?' p. 255—258.

There is an excellent sermon 'On the Temporal Advantages of Christianity,' from which we wish we had room to make more extracts than we dare now venture on. After drawing a fine picture of the superior morality, gentleness and security of modern times, the author proceeds—

'Are these distinguishing characteristics of the Christian world to be ascribed solely to the progress of civilization and philosophy? Why, then, were they not to be found in the ancient world? Some of the nations of antiquity were greatly advanced in all the arts and improvements by which social life is benefited and adorned; but they were far from possessing the same principles of wisdom, of humanity, and of justice, which are now understood at least, if they are but imperfectly brought into action. We are in the habit of boasting greatly of our advantages in point of civilization and philosophy; but we are not always very willing to acknowledge the source from which these advantages are derived to us. I will not, however, hesitate to affirm, that unless a steady beam from heaven had opened up to man the path of truth and of wisdom, the world would still have exhibited the melancholy spectacle of the blind leading the blind; and, instead of that fair and increasing fabric of knowledge and of improvement which we now behold rearing around us, which is founded upon the Rock of ages, and which the winds and the rains of time assail in vain, we should still have beheld the efforts of man wasted on some tower of Babel, beginning in extravagance, and terminating in confusion.

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'From these extensive views, let us turn to the more familiar consideration of the influence of Christianity on the habits of private life. How beautifully have these been improved by it! How much have the grosser vices been extirpated, or driven into obscurity! There is a sanctity and purity in the private life of good men, and by a kind of necessity in the domestic life of all men, which was far from prevailing in the world before the introduction of the gospel. Even politeness, and the manners of good society, however artificial they may be, are yet, in a great measure, produced by the influence of Christianity on the public mind. The amusements of men are regulated by the same spirit. There is a decency prevalent, which is expressive of innocence, and which cannot with impunity be greatly violated. Thus luxury has been restrained within bounds; the higher orders of society are prevented from carrying a license of manners far beyond the limits of propriety; and while they are indulged in those elegancies of life which are suited to their station, they are yet kept in check by the warning voice, that they must "*use these things as not abusing them.*" p. 200—202.

The same strain of thought and of feeling is discernible in the following passage from a sermon on the evidences of immortality. The author is endeavouring to show how necessary it was that this great truth should be confirmed by a special revelation.

'But, secondly, my brethren, may we not be permitted to suspect that, upon this head, philosophers sometimes deceive themselves; and that the faith which they place in the doctrine of immortal life, however firmly it may rest on arguments from reason, is yet not a little supported in their minds by principles of which they are not so well aware. The most pious of the heathen philosophers did not shake off entirely their belief in the superstitions of their age, but were led often to think and feel like the least instructed of their countrymen. Among all the follies of the superstitions which surrounded them, they were yet willing to believe that revelations had been given to the human race; and they scarcely ever arrived at so much confidence in the conclusions of their own reason, as not to wish at least that some revelation might be given. If there is really any man in modern times, who, without faith in Christianity, still possesses a firm conviction of his immortality, I will venture to affirm, that the faith of that man is supported in no small degree by the existence of Christianity everywhere around him; and if he saw not the multitude going to the house of God, he would have less assurance than he now feels, that there is an eternal house in which all the true worshippers of God will one day be assembled.' p. 165–66.

The following passage from a sermon on religious rites, is also extremely characteristic of the author. He is speaking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

'It may be remarked, that this method of instituting a memorial of his death, was quite in the manner adopted by our Lord in all his instructions,

instructions, and in his common conduct. It seemed part of his plan, to show that wisdom might be collected from every incident, the most trivial; and that the most serious truths might be impressed upon the mind from the occasion of very slight events. Thus, his instructions were constantly drawn from some of the circumstances in his own or his disciples' situation; and every common occurrence in their lives he turned into a source of useful doctrine. On this occasion, bread and wine were incidentally on the table before them; and, by a natural reference to his body and blood, to which these elements bore some resemblance, he made them symbols of the most important event which was ever to happen in the annals of time.

'The beauty and interesting nature of this sacrament appear, accordingly, from attending to the circumstances in which it was instituted. Secondly, let us attend to the manner of its observance. The event to be commemorated, is the death of our Saviour for the sins of the world. The manner in which this is commemorated, is not in sackcloth and ashes, in tears and lamentations, and stripes and penance. We are not required "*to give our first born for our transgression, the fruit of our body for the sin of our soul.*" We are not desired to go forth on pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre; to collect from every quarter relics of the cross; and to wear out the sacred pavements in prostration and kneeling. Nothing harsh; nothing burdensome; nothing melancholy is required from us. We are only desired to meet in fellowship around the table of our Lord; to personate the holy apostles; and to receive the sacred elements which he formerly distributed to those well-tried servants, when he met them for the last time before his death. We are desired to kneel down together, with the kind affections of Christian brethren, of men who partake in the same misfortune, and who look forward to the same deliverance. Perhaps, it may not be going too far to say, that the very form of this sacrament is a proof, that, in the whole course of our Christian warfare, nothing is expected from us which requires any very extraordinary or violent exertion. Our Saviour has done so much, that we are desired to do little more, than with faithful and honest hearts to look forward to the completion of his work. He asks nothing that is grievous and distasteful to our feelings; he only bids us remember him: and the manner in which we are to remember him, is not with downcast and sorrowful countenances, but with glad hearts, and by a social and friendly ceremony.' p. 359–362.

We shall not distress our profane readers with any further extracts. Those which we have now given afford a fair specimen of the book, and we scarcely think will appear tedious even to those gay persons. The pious, of course, find good in every thing; and, we suppose, take thankfully, and in good part, whatever is offered to them in the spirit of piety. They are the well that need not the physician; and sermons are their food, and not their

their physic. It is in the treatment of inveterate diseases, however, and in the management of refractory patients, that the skill of the physician is put to the test. Theology, we have no doubt, may be cooked more exquisitely for the palate of a spiritual epicure, than it is in the mess before us; but, considering it as a restorative for the weak, a sedative for the nervous, and a stimulant for the lethargic, we cannot bestow too much praise on its preparation. It is not our fault, but the fault of the world, if we are not able to describe its peculiar merits, any better than by saying, that we do not know any book of sermons over which a man of the world will be so little apt to yawn,—at which a scoffer will find so little opportunity and so little temptation to laugh,—and in which even a fanatic will so rarely meet with any thing to excite his scorn or his fury.

ART. VIII. *A Permanent and Effectual Remedy suggested for the Evils under which the British West Indies now labour; in a Letter from a West India Merchant to a West India Planter.* London. Richardsons. 8vo. pp. 48. 1809.

SUCH is the unfortunate character of our colonial policy, that events, apparently the most advantageous to the national cause, are found to produce the most serious inconvenience to our West India settlements. The sugar market, which had experienced a considerable rise in consequence of the prohibition of the corn distillery, has been reduced to almost its former state of depression, by the capture of Martinique. A new example is thus afforded of the radical inefficacy of the remedies hitherto proposed for West India distresses; and if we look back to the history of these distresses, we shall find occasion for a similar observation at every stage. They commenced in 1799, when a large and unexpected importation of sugar glutted the market. This overstock, and the consequent pressure on the planter, has since been permanent, with the exception of two intervening periods of relief. These occurred in 1800 and 1804. In the former of these years, sugar was introduced into the home distillery; in the latter, the crop was deficient, and prices rose in consequence of the small importation. Of ten years, therefore, two only have been satisfactory to the planter; and, what is still more remarkable, the favourable prices of both these years have been the result, not of any settled system of policy, but of accidental and transient causes. All this shows that the evil is deeply rooted, and that neither the exertions of the West India merchants, nor the labours of our Parliamentary Committees, have produced any "permanent and effectual remedy."

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The pamphlet which bears this impoſing title is the work of a Weſt India merchant, who recommends at once a reduction of the growth of ſugar, as the only means of obtaining an adequate price. This opinion we have ourſelves uniformly entertained; but ſubject to the qualification, that when once a balance ſhould be eſtabliſhed, by a ſeries of ſacrifices on the part of the planter, an advantage ſo painfully obtained, ſhould not be forfeited by the avidity of our miniſters to make new conqueſts among the ſugar colonies of our enemies. Recent experience, however, has ſhown that any ſuch expectation would be ill founded, and that the planter would have no ſecurity for the permanent efficacy of the propoſed remedy. He muſt not flatter himſelf, that deliberate calculations of public utility will outweigh, in the minds of our governors, the *eclat* of a conqueſt. The lives and the treaſure waſted in the capture, the ſubſequent expenſe of defence, and even the ultimate unproductiveneſs of the acquiſition, are all conſiderations too cold and feeble to ſtay the hand of ſuch animated combatants. Neither muſt the Britiſh planter expect, that our government will adopt as a permanent rule, the excluſion of the produce of newly conquered colonies from home conſumption. This meaſure is new; it has been practiſed only in the two inſtances of the Daniſh iſlands and Martinique; it is adverſe to the wiſhes of the conſumers of ſuch produce in this country; it is adverſe to the wiſhes of our manufacturers. Of courſe a very numerous claſs will be intereſted in oppoſing ſuch reſtrictions, and in urging government to adopt the plan of unlimited intercourſe, as that which would enable the mother country to extract the largeſt profit from her new acquiſition.

Since, therefore, the planter can have no ſecurity, during the war, for deriving any benefit even from a reduction of growth, it behoves him to conſider what other means may afford him an immediate relief. We have felt ourſelves under the neceſſity of objecting to ſeveral of thoſe expedients, which the Weſt India body have preſſed with the greateſt urgency; and this oppoſition muſt be repeated, whenever their claims are at variance with thoſe general principles which govern the proſperity of nations. But the late proceedings of our Government have rendered the planter an object of peculiar commiſeration. Not only is he obliged to ſend all his produce to one market, but he has the mortification of finding that market glutted by the intervention of ſtrangers. The original compact between him and the mother country, was that of monopoly for monopoly; but the mother country has virtually releaſed herſelf from the obligation, at the very time that ſhe claims its moſt rigid obſervance from him. After oppoſing his relief at the expenſe of other claſſes of the community, we conſider it due, therefore, both to juſtice and humanity, to plead his cauſe againſt oppreſ-

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ſion. He has been inſtrumental, indeed, in creating his own embarraſſments, and he has prolonged their duration, by an ignorance of the proper mode of relief. He has no claim, therefore, to favour or excluſive privilege; but he has a claim to impartial juſtice, and to the full benefit of his own activity in extricating himſelf from the miſery in which he is involved.

One of the greateſt advantages reſulting from the ſtudy of that legacy which Dr Smith bequeathed to his ſpecies, is the knowledge that, in all matters of commercial intercourſe, juſtice and policy infallibly go together. It is in vain that artificial diſtinctions are ſuggeſted between the interests of one part of an empire and another; or, to ſpeak more generally, it is in vain that we imagine that what cauſes loſs to thoſe with whom we trade, can be productive of gain to us. It reſults from the nature of trade, and from the operation of capital, that the commercial advantages of both parties are inſeparably interwoven; that no circumſtance can yield us large profits, except the proſperity of thoſe with whom we trade; and that all gains which we appear to make at the expenſe of thoſe with whom we trade, are ultimately deductions from our own emolument.

But the maxims which regulate our colonial policy are of a very different deſcription. It is there aſſumed as a principle, that a radical difference exiſts between the intereſt of the mother country and her colonies; and it is a ſuitable corollary to this propoſition, that, in all caſes of competition, the latter muſt be ſacrificed to the former. Hence the compulſion to ſend us home the whole of their produce, whether we want it or not; hence the threatened compulſion to take all ſtores from our North American colonies, to the utter excluſion of the United States. It never enters into the calculation of theſe active ſtateſmen, that for every hundred pounds which we gain in conſequence of them, our planters loſe a thouſand; that every thouſand pounds thus loſt, is loſt to the employment of Britiſh induſtry, and forms a deduction from the ſum of Britiſh capital. The outſide appearance is all that they ſeem able to comprehend, in regard to any meaſure of colonial policy. They enlarge, for example, on its employing an additional number of Britiſh ſhipping, without conſidering that this employment is procured by the ſacrifice of a portion of national wealth, which, under better management, would have been adequate to the employment of ten times as many ſhips and ſeamen.

There is nothing, therefore, that promiſes more fairly to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the planter, than to give him the free diſpoſal of that ſurplus produce which remains after ſupplying the

conſumption of the mother country. Simple as this requeſt is, and beneficent as its effects would be to the empire at large, it would have to encounter the oppoſition of ſeveral powerful claſſes amongſt ourſelves, who, in the true ſpirit of mercantile prejudice, would conceive themſelves grievouſly injured. Indeed, ſo erroneous are the views of many among us, in all complicated queſtions of national policy, that it is matter of no little difficulty to predict when we may become enlightened enough to adopt this meaſure in its full extent. One branch of it, however—the barter of colonial produce for American ſtores, appears, from what has lately paſſed in Parliament, to be under conſideration at preſent; and the advantage is ſo clearly on the ſide of liberality, that we are induced to lay the merits of the caſe pretty fully before our readers.

Ever ſince the ſettlement of our North American and Weſt Indian colonies, the former have been in the habit of ſupplying the latter with fiſh, ſtores, and lumber. This intercourſe is founded both on their vicinity and on their relative objects of cultivation. So long as North America remained Britiſh, this intercourſe was free and uninterrupted; but when the United States became independent, the continuance of the traffic was reſtricted to Britiſh ſhipping. During peace, this reſtriction was not productive of ſerious injury; but in war, it was ſpeedily diſcovered that our merchantmen could not fail in the face of enemy's privateers with ſufficient regularity for the ſupply of our coloniſts. Accordingly it became neceſſary to permit the acceſs of American veſſels; which was done under the limitation, that they ſhould be veſſels of only one deck and under ſeventy tons burden. The exchange of commodities was alſo reſtricted in conformity to the profound maxims of the mercantile ſyſtem. Inſtead of following the courſe of reaſon and common ſenſe, and permitting buyer and ſeller to make their bargain in their own way, our laws allowed only a very limited export of ſugar and coffee in American ſhips. Of ſugar, for example, the quantity was confined to 6000 hhds. The reſt we muſt needs bring home *in toto*, that we might make ſure, as we imagined, of the profit on it in every ſtage. We cared very little whether this was injurious or not to our colonies; and we had not ſenſe enough to foreſee that it would be injurious to ourſelves.

Such was the nature of the traffic between our ſugar colonies and the United States from 1794 to 1806. It is to be obſerved, that although virtually permitted by Government, it was not during all this time acknowledged in law, being carried on in virtue of proclamations iſſued from time to time by the governors of our Weſt India colonies, on their own reſponſibility, for which they were

were afterwards indemnified by act of Parliament. In 1806, the new Miniſtry, deſirous of gradually opening the eyes of the public to the futility of certain favourite laws, brought forward the American Intercourſe Act; an act, by which, without any ſubſtantial change in the traffic, a character of legality was conferred on it, and our iſland governors exempted from reſponſibility for its toleration. The clamour raiſed againſt this act by the ſhipping intereſt, and by ſeveral of our merchants, will remain on record as a ſtriking example of mercantile bigotry, and an evidence of the diſqualification for liberal views which a life of practical detail has a tendency to produce. The Miniſters gave way, in ſome degree, to this clamour; with a facility of acquieſcence, which, when ſhown, as in this inſtance, to the claims of ſelfiſhneſs and prejudice, deſerves no other name than weakneſs. The point in which they yielded, was that which we have noticed above—the permiſſion of ſelling a ſtipulated quantity of ſugar and coffee to the Americans. This permiſſion they conſented to take away, and to prohibit entirely the future ſale of either of theſe articles to the Americans:—a remarkable example of the pernicious half-meaſures ſo often introduced into our political code by the influence of particular claſſes of the community, in oppoſition to the national intereſt, and in contradiction to the wiſhes of Government.

The prohibition proved, as might have been foreſeen, extremely injurious to the planters. Embarraſſed by an overſtock of produce, they have ſince continued to petition Government to permit the barter of ſugar and coffee with the Americans, to a limited extent at leaſt. In this requeſt they are now joined by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, which ſat laſt ſeſſion on Weſt India affairs. The report of this Committee ſhows, that our planters receive from the United States an annual ſupply of ſtores, conſiſting chiefly in the eſſential articles of fiſh, flour, ſtaves and lumber; that in conſequence of the prohibition in regard to the barter of ſugar and coffee, our planters are now forced to pay for two-thirds of theſe ſtores in money; that this money is afterwards carried to the enemy's iſlands, and inveſted in the purchaſe of produce; that this produce is carried to America, where it ſupplies the conſumption of the country, and leaves a ſurplus to be conveyed in American ſhipping to Europe, where it operates to the excluſion of our own produce from the continental markets. The Committee therefore recommend, that the planters ſhould be permitted to barter ſugar and coffee with the Americans to a certain extent—to the extent, namely, of the value of the ſtores which they receive from them.

Nothing can be more reaſonable or more conſonant to ſound policy than this recommendation. The oppoſition to it proceeds now, as formerly, from two quarters—our Canada merchants, and

our ſhipping intereſt. The former, by whom we mean our merchants connected with Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunſwick, lay in a claim to the excluſive ſupply of all ſtores which Great Britain cannot herſelf furniſh to her colonies. But it ſeems from the Report (July 1807) of a Committee ſufficiently diſpoſed to favour the views of the Britiſh North Americans, that our provinces are as yet very ill fitted to meet the wants of the ſugar planters; and it is ſhown by the very explicit evidence of the agent for Jamaica (Report, 10th June 1808,) that on an average of years, the planters take only one tenth of their ſtores from Britiſh America, and the remaining nine-tenths from the United States. The concluſion therefore is, that however we may be diſpoſed to confine this traffic to our own ſhipping or our own provinces, in peace, war is not the ſeaſon for the excluſion of neutrals; becauſe they can bring cheap and frequent ſupplies of ſtores to our planters, while our own ſhipping are ſubject to extra expenſe from high inſurance, and to delays both from want of ſeamen and of convoys.

Such is the ſtate of the caſe as it regards the Canada merchants. The arguments of the ſhipping intereſt will require a much longer conſideration; not from being in reality of greater weight, but from their being connected with the maintenance of our navigation-laws, that popular ſyſtem, to which ſo many of our politicians good-naturedly attribute our naval ſuperiority.

The value of American ſtores annually imported into our colonies (before the embargo) has been computed, we understand, at 25,000 hogſheads of ſugar. This quantity is equal to the average cargoes of about ſeventy of our Weſt Indiamen. The greateſt evil, then, that can happen, is the employment of ſeventy ſail of ſhipping leſs in that branch of trade, that is, a twelfth of the whole number. Againſt this, however, the ſhipowners exclaim with a vehemence, of which the real motive is an apprehenſion of leſſened profit, but under the convenient plea of a concern leſt the country ſhould ſuffer by the diſcouragement of our ſeamen. There is no ground, however, for dreading the diſcouragement in the ſlighteſt degree. During war, ſo many of our ſeamen are preſſed into the navy, that the majority of the crews of our Weſt Indiamen are Danes, Swedes and Germans. If we compute the number of Britiſh ſeamen at preſent on board ſeventy of our Weſt Indiamen at five hundred, we are probably above the mark. This is, therefore, the whole number that would be expoſed to want of employment; but this want of employment would be of very ſhort duration: ſince it is well known to all connected with ſhipping, that our ſhipmaſters give a decided preference to Britiſh over foreign ſeamen. Accordingly, room would very

very soon be made for these seamen on board of our East or West Indiamen, and a correspondent number of foreigners excluded. There is, therefore, not the slightest apprehension that a single British seaman would, by this measure, be put out of employment.

The second argument against the requested barter, is addressed to our mercantile jealousies. It is this. 'You limit the extent of the barter by law; but neither the British planter, nor the American shipmaster, will be disposed to confine themselves to this limit. They will endeavour to export more produce than the value of the imported stores.' The answer is as follows. Before 1806, the Americans being allowed to load and unload at creeks and bays, smuggling might have been practicable; but, since that year, they have been obliged to confine themselves to certain specified ports, at each of which there is a customhouse, with at least three officers, and generally more. These receive manifests, and grant clearances, with the same regularity as in Great Britain. Instruct these officers to value every American cargo on its arrival, and to regulate the amount of exported produce by the strict amount of exported stores; or, if you wish to avoid giving a discretionary power to your customhouse officers, let a specific and permanent value by quantity be affixed to American stores in general orders from home, (as, staves at so much the thousand, flour so much the cwt., &c.); and direct that, without the formality of repeated valuations, the import of certain quantities of stores shall justify the export of correspondent quantities of produce. Besides, were the means of prevention less effectual, it would be no easy matter to smuggle so bulky a commodity as sugar. A late Chancellor of the Exchequer urged this circumstance (Budget 1806) as an argument for laying an additional tax on sugar; and it would be hard dealing towards the planter, to take the benefit of the argument, in burdening his produce, while we denied its application for his relief.

Could the shipowners take a deliberate view of their own interest, they would find that this measure, however ungracious in appearance, would in reality be in their favour. They might, indeed, employ fewer ships by a twelfth in the West India trade; but the rate of freight, at present so much complained of, might be raised when the commodity conveyed could better afford an advance. Besides, if relief be denied the planter, his crops must fall off, (as is shown by the author of the pamphlet before us), and their freight be lost in future to the shipowners; while, if the barter in question be permitted, there is a chance that the full quantity will be kept up for the shipowner at a peace, at which time there can be little doubt of an end being put to the acces

of American vessels. These unwelcome agents will thus have preserved to our shipowners an extent of employment, which they are unable, during war, to preserve for themselves.

We would recommend to the perusal of the shipowners, the following extract from Sir William Young's Common-Place Book, (p. 163.), on the subject of the America Intercourse Act of 1806, against which the shipowners had petitioned.

'Admitting the whole of the case as stated by the petitioners to Parliament, I must contend, that they look for relief, where relief is not to be had: in resorting to the American intercourse with the West Indies, they catch at a mere straw, which cannot hold them up for a moment; they ask for that which they could not avail themselves of, if granted; they seek a monopoly of a carrying-trade, of which they could not retain a share for more than a single season, even if it was practicable for them, under the circumstances of the war, to engage in at all. *British built* schooners, and other small craft of Bermuda, navigated according to law, that is, as allowed in war, by three fourths American sailors, but in fact principally by negro slaves, and belonging to storekeepers in the British islands, would, from under-freight, and frequency of trip, out-traffic, and soon chase from the trade every English ship; and not a shipowner of London, or shipbuilder of the Thames, would be benefited.'

Having thus examined the measure of barter, as it regards the shipowners, we shall next advert to its effects on the West India merchants, and on our Government. Our ministers, like our merchants, are so much accustomed to attach the notion of profit to business of all kinds, and in all quantities, that it is a matter of no small difficulty to persuade them that they can be gainers by a partial relinquishment. Nothing, however, can be clearer than this in respect to both these parties. By lessening the overstock in the home market, you raise prices. The merchant would earn a larger commission by selling 200 hogsheads of his correspondent's sugar at a fair price, than 250 hogsheads at the ruinous price of late years; and, what is of infinitely greater consequence to him than any commission, his correspondent, who generally owes him a large sum, would be redeemed from the danger of insolvency. To Government there would be a gain in two ways; directly, in saving the bounties payable on export when the home market is low; and indirectly, to a much larger amount, in the improved circumstances of the planters, and their consequent ability to pay taxes. The property-tax, for instance, which at present is a blank letter in regard to planters, because they have no income, would, in case of an improvement of their circumstances, become a fund of considerable produce.

Obvious and incontrovertible as these arguments are, their progress in operating conviction has been extremely slow; or, rather,

ther, they would have had no chance against our favourite sytem of absolute monopoly, had not the misery of the planter spoke in the loudest accents. The fear of entirely losing so productive a member of the community, has at last awakened a part of us to the necessity of granting the permission to barter,—a permission which sound policy would have dictated long ago. Still, however, the prospect of obtaining it is doubtful. It is now about eighteen months since the majority of the London West India merchants were persuaded, or rather alarmed, into an application to Government for the permission in question. To this request Government at that time gave a direct negative; but, since additional light has been thrown on the subject by the report of the Committee, it is to be hoped that no objections will be urged from so high a quarter.

We have now considered this measure with reference to our shipping interest, our mercantile interest, and our revenue. To the first, we contend that it is not injurious; to both the others, we have shown that it is highly beneficial. Still, however, it is alleged that it would be an infraction of the Navigation-laws; and the name of Navigation-laws is so sacred with the multitude, who scarcely know what they mean, as well as with the very small number whose knowledge of them is somewhat more accurate, that it may be necessary to discuss this part of the subject at some length.

In the first place, it is a curious circumstance, after all we have heard on the subject, that there would, strictly speaking, be no infraction of the Navigation-laws. These laws do not restrain the direct intercourse between us and any foreign country whose shipping brings us her own produce, and takes back ours. The object of these laws is, to prevent a third party from acting as a carrier between the two. In the present case, the point at issue regards the direct intercourse between two countries exchanging their respective produce; there is no question of a third party as carrier: of course, the case does not come under the Navigation-laws. It is our colonial monopoly act which would be infringed; but as this title is not altogether so popular as Navigation-law, the shipowners sagaciously enough make use of the latter.

But, admitting that the colonial monopoly act is substantially a part of the navigation code, does it follow, that nothing bearing the name of Navigation-law is to be infringed or altered? If so, why did the present Ministry, the friends of this code, so conspicuously infringe it, in their second Order of Council of 11th November, 1807? If it be admitted that these laws, like all other laws, are open to alteration, when the advantage of a partial relaxation is clearly greater than its disadvantage, it would be diffi-

cult to find a caſe in which the balance of advantage was clearer than in the preſent.

What was the object of our Navigation-laws? To maintain and increaſe the number of our ſeamen, for the purpoſe of manning a large navy in time of war. Peace, accordingly, is the ſeaſon of their operation; becauſe our ſeamen, not being then employed in the navy, muſt be employed in merchantmen; and becauſe our mercantile flag, having then a free courſe, can ſtand competition with that of other countries. During war, the employment of our ſhipping, to an equal extent, is not practicable, becauſe neutrals poſſeſs great advantages over us; neither is it neceſſary, becauſe our ſeamen are employed in our navy. Accordingly, in peace, our Navigation-laws are enforced; and enact, that three fourths of the crew of every Britiſh ſhip muſt be Britiſh: in war they are relaxed, and more than three fourths of the crew are frequently permitted to be foreign. May they not be ſafely relaxed by a country, which has in active ſervice above 150 ſail of the line, and 120,000 ſeamen?

The ſhipping intereſt, or, to deſignate them more appropriately, the ſhipowning intereſt, argue, that the object of our Navigation-laws is to encourage our ſhipbuilding, as well as our ſeamen. In admitting this point, we muſt remark, that the proviſions in favour of ſhipbuilding are of ſubſequent date to thoſe in favour of ſeamen. It is therefore fair to infer, that the former was conſidered in ſubſerviency to the latter by the framers of theſe acts. If this idea of ſubſerviency exiſted in that remote period, when it was natural to ſuppoſe that naval power depended on the number of our veſſels, how much more ought it to be felt at preſent, when we are appriſed that the building of ſhips may be increaſed, like any other branch of trade, almoſt at pleaſure, whenever it becomes expedient to increaſe the proportion of capital employed in it! As to materials, even when excluded from all the reſt of the world, there are open to us our own foreſts, and the foreſts of our North American colonies.

It has been alleged, that unleſs our ſhipbuilding be encouraged, we may be deficient in a mercantile navy to receive our ſeamen at a peace. The anſwer to this is, that, at a peace, the whole of our tranſports become available to the merchant ſervice; that a conſiderable interval (generally ſix months) elapſes between the ſignature of the preliminaries and the ratification of the definitive treaty; and that, as our ſeamen are never paid off from the navy till the latter take place, the whole of this interval may be employed by the ſhipowners in preparing for the approaching demand. Finally, if there be any great and ſudden call for ſhipping, it is always in the power of Government to permit the purchaſe

chaſe of foreign ſhipping, by ſuſpending the tax on it for a limited period.

To thoſe who reſiſt any interference with our Navigation-laws, on the general plea, that they are the foundation of our naval preponderance, it is important to obſerve, that our naval preponderance reſts on a very different baſis. Our national energy and wealth originate in our freedom, and in that ſecurity of property which is its happy conſequence. The number of our ſeamen in merchant ſhipping is owing to the ſpirit and capital of our traders, and to our great extent of coaſt. Their profeſſional courage and ſkill ariſes from their habits of independence, and the ſtormy latitudes in which they are exerciſed. The magnitude of our navy is due, neither to navigation-acts, nor to colonial monopolies, but to the financial means of an induſtrious country, the labour of whoſe population ſupplies a fund which enables its Government to maintain a great eſtabliſhment in arms:—ſuch is the auſpicious progreſſion of freedom, ſecurity of property, induſtry, increaſe of private wealth, and, finally, of public revenue. Any country, however ſmall, which enjoys liberty, will ſpeedily find itſelf in the career of improvement. Liberty enabled the ſmall republics of Holland and Switzerland to take the ſtart of all their neighbours, and to maintain their independence for centuries. Their comparative weakneſs of population, however, made their ultimate downfal unavoidable. They fell, as ſoon as their powerful neighbour was awakened, by a temporary poſſeſſion of liberty, to a knowledge of her ſtrength. *Our* hope of continued independence fortunately reſts on a very different foundation. Our inſular ſituation is both an admirable barrier againſt invaſion, and the origin of a force of the greateſt efficacy in offenſive warfare. Our population will be large, whenever a better policy ſhall enable us to count the five millions of Ireland amongſt the well-affected citizens of the empire. Although greatly inferior to France in extent of territory and in population, we may be ſafe from her arms, and from the arms of all Europe combined, if we infuſe into our political ſyſtem all the vigour which a free and enlightened government can beſtow.

How different are the ideas ſuggeſted by ſuch obſervations, from the narrow theories of thoſe who trace our naval ſuperiority to the operation of a few acts of Parliament! They remind us of the technical philoſophy of the judge, who gravely aſcribed the lamentable prevalence of duelling, not to the violence of human paſſions, but to a 'miſapprehenſion of the law of the land.' Beſides, our naval greatneſs, as is well remarked by Dr Smith, was conſpicuous before our navigation laws were framed. It exiſted then, as it had done before, and has done ſince, in a degree commenſurate

mensurate with our commerce, and with the extent of our national prosperity. These circumstances, and not navigation laws, will be found the regulators of naval power in all countries. They determined its extent among the Dutch, to whom, even in the season of their greatest strength, navigation laws were entirely unknown. It is important to remark, that the tendency of our navigation laws is not, as acknowledged by their advocates,* to increase national wealth. It is admitted to be in some degree the reverse; so that the question of their expediency depends on the consideration, whether we have employed more seamen with these laws than we should have done without them; and also, whether the additional number so employed is an equivalent to the accompanying loss of national wealth. If, for example, it can be made to appear that the greater wealth we should otherwise have possessed, would have supplied a revenue adequate to the maintenance of an equal number of seamen in the navy, it would follow that we are no gainers by these acts: and if it further appear, that this additional revenue would have been equal to the maintenance of twice or three times as many seamen, it would be clear that we are losers by them. To enter into these discussions at present, would much exceed our limits;—nor is it necessary for the purpose of obtaining a favourable hearing to the request of barter, which we have already shown would not, during war at least, have the effect of depriving a single British seaman of employment. In peace, the traffic would be transferred from the American shipping to our own.

In regard to the extent of benefit to be derived to our planters from the requested barter, there may be some difference of opinion. The prospect of advantage is certainly much greater since the reduction of Martinique. But we are less desirous to calculate its specific amount, than to satisfy our countrymen, that so long as we have 120,000 seamen in pay, it is impolitic in us to expose ourselves to heavy losses for the sake of an insignificant addition to the number. Instead, therefore, of forcing the employment of our shipping, to the great injury of ourselves and our West India colonists, in a particular branch of trade, where we could gain so much more by permitting the access of neutrals, let us lay open the intercourse, during war at least, and make for once an experiment of the effects of leaving things to their natural operation.

ART.

* Sir William Young's Common-Place Book.

ART. IX. *Lettres et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne, publiées par Mde. la Baronne de Staël Holstein. Contenant des Anecdotes inédites sur Joseph II, Catherine II, Frederic-le-Grand, Rousseau, Voltaire, &c. &c. et des Remarques intéressantes sur les Turcs.* 12mo. 2 Vol. London. 1808.

THIS is a very amusing little book; and very instructive, too, for those who care about instruction. The Prince De Ligne, it seems, was (or is, we suppose, for he is still alive) the man of the most brilliant conversation in all Europe,—allowed by the French themselves, though not a Frenchman born, to have more wit, grace and vivacity in society, than any other person,—a great personal favourite with half the Sovereigns of the world,—a great lover of war and of literature, and equally well acquainted with the distinguished generals and famous authors of his day. Such is the picture drawn of him, at least by Mad. De Staël,—an acute observer certainly of characters, and a penetrating judge of talents. To illustrate it, she has selected the contents of these volumes as specimens of his pleasantry and penetration. They consist of a few letters to the King of Poland, on the subject of the great Frederic of Prussia; a greater number addressed to a French lady, containing an account of the Empress Catherine's famous progress to the Crimea, along with the Emperor Joseph, in 1787; another series addressed to the said Emperor and to M. Segur, during the siege of Oczakow in 1789; a few more on the death of the Emperor, to the Empress of Russia; a collection of thoughts and maxims; with some anecdotes of Rousseau and Voltaire, and one or two characters of less celebrated individuals, in an epigrammatic and antithetical manner.

After perusing the whole of these pieces, we agree with Mad. De Staël that the Prince de Ligne is very lively and entertaining; and even that he assumes the language of philosophy and philanthropy with considerable grace and ingenuity: But his wit is often too strained, artificial and obtrusive, for our insular taste; and, in the midst of all the political dogmatism and good-natured arrogance, which is natural, we suppose, to princes who are generals and ambassadors, we think we can descry a profound ignorance of the true constitution and progress of society, and an entire disregard of the rights and feelings of the inferior orders. The book, indeed, is chiefly curious, we think, for the peculiar *aristocracy* of its tone and tenor, and for the glimpses it affords us of the personal views and feelings—the real motives and principles of the rulers of nations. Some of the anecdotes are merely curious and amusing; but there are others which throw a strong light on the generical character of sovereigns.

Monsieur

Monsieur le Prince de Ligne, we ought to premise, is rather given to admire princes; and, much as he lives with them, and talks about them, it is not from him that we should ever learn the secret of their vices or weaknesses. It never seems indeed to have entered into his imagination, that tyranny or ambition should be considered as faults in such august personages as Emperors and Kings; and, even of the smaller vices that come within his cognizance, he is more frequently the apologist than the reprover. In so far as mere personal manner, taste, and talent for conversation are concerned, his sketches are very lively and characteristic; and many traits are unconsciously scattered about, which may be the foundation of more important conclusions.

The first series of letters relates to Frederic of Prussia; and, though written to the King of Poland in 1785, are chiefly occupied with an account of conversations which passed in 1770. In that year, the author attended the Emperor Joseph in that amicable visit which he paid to Frederic in his camp of Newstadt, and had daily opportunities of conversing with that remarkable person during the three weeks that the visit lasted. We hear nothing, in all this scene, of the arbitrary principles or the hard-heartedness of Frederic, but a great deal of his loquacity, of the grace with which he moved his lips, and of his 'conversation Encyclopédique!' Some traits are very lively; and give a very complete idea of that rapid, desultory, careless sort of conversation, in which men of quick parts and admitted superiority are commonly given to indulge. After talking of the want of discipline in the French armies, his Majesty is represented as having run on in this manner.

'C'est une brave et aimable nation que ces François; il est impossible de ne pas les aimer; mais, mon Dieu, qu'ont-ils fait de leurs gens de lettres? et quelle différence de ton parmi eux? Voltaire en avoit un excellent, par exemple: d'Alembert, que j'estime à bien des égards, fait trop de bruit, et veut faire trop d'effet dans la société; étoit-ce les gens de lettres qui donnoient de la grâce à la cour de Louis XIV, ou la recevoient-ils de tant de gens aimables qui la composoient? C'étoit le patriarche des Rois, celui-là. On en a dit quelquefois un peu trop de bien pendant sa vie; mais beaucoup trop de mal après sa mort.'—'Un roi de France, Sire, est toujours, le Patriarche des gens d'esprit.'—'Voilà le plus mauvais lot; ils ne valent pas le diable à gouverner. Il vaut mieux être Patriarche des Grecs, comme ma sœur l'Impératrice de Russie. Cela lui rapporte, et rapportera davantage. Voilà une religion, celle-là, qui comprend tant de pays et de nations différentes. Pour nos pauvres Luthériens, il y en a si peu que cela ne vaut pas la peine d'être leur Patriarche.'

'Louis XIV ayant plus de jugement que d'esprit, cherchoit plutôt l'un que l'autre. C'étoit des hommes de génie qu'il vouloit et qu'il trouvoit.

trouvoit. On ne pouvoit pas dire que Corneille, Bossuet, Racine et Condé fussent des hommes d'esprit.' I. 22—25.

The day after he appears to have been still more brief and variable.

'Mais quelle belle guerre d'apprentissage! J'ai fait assez de fautes pour vous apprendre à vous tous, jeunes gens, à valoir bien mieux que moi. Mon Dieu, que j'aime vos grenadiers! comme ils ont bien défilé en ma présence! Si le dieu Mars vouloit lever une garde pour sa personne, je lui conseillerois de les prendre sans choisir.—Savez-vous que j'ai été bien content de l'Empereur, hier au soir à souper. Avez-vous entendu ce qu'il m'a dit de la liberté de la presse, et de la gêne des consciences; il y aura bien de la différence entre lui et tous ses bons ancêtres.' I. 29.

There seems to have been a good deal of coarse raillery in his common talk to his generals, and some traits of a bad taste in the whole strain of his conversation. M. De Ligne has taken notice of his tendency to impiety, in this point of view; and observed, with that peculiar fineness of expression which renders this book altogether untranslateable, 'qu'il mettoit un peu trop de prix à sa damnation, et s'en vantoit trop.' Upon the same principle, we suppose, he kept a doctor of the Sorbonne in his suite, with whom he disputed every day upon religion; but told M. De Ligne, that he began to grow weary of him, 'comme il s'avisa d'etre Janseniste.' He had likewise some whimsical fits of stateliness and formality; and annoyed the Emperor not a little, by regularly taking his own horse by the bridle, when the Emperor put his foot in the stirrup,—putting his foot in the stirrup when the Emperor threw his leg over; and thus going through all the stages of mounting, at the respectful distance of one movement behind his principal. M. De Ligne suspects there was some mockery at the bottom of all this, and that he went through these evolutions 'pour se montrer un Electeur discipliné.' The two Sovereigns appear to have been very cordial, and (moyennant le Prince De Ligne) often very gay together; although there probably was, as our author observes, 'de part et d'autre un peu de personalité—'quelque méfiance—peut-être un commencement d'aigreur—ce 'qui arrive toujours (dit Philippe de Commines) aux entrevues 'des Souverains.' This account of Frederic is summed up with the following compliments, which, loyal as they are, would appear a little stiff and pedantic, we believe, in this country.

'Je ne crois plus aux tremblemens de terre et aux éclipses de la mort de César, puisqu'on n'en a pas éprouvé à la mort de Fréderic le Grand. Je ne sais si de grands phénomènes de la nature, Sire, annonceroient le jour où *vous* cesseriez de régner; mais c'est un phénomène dans le monde qu'un Roi qui gouverne une République, en se faisant obéir et respecter pour lui-meme, autant que par ses droits.' I. 66—67.

The

The next ſeries of letters, being that addreſſed to Mad. Le Marquiſe de C. at Paris, during the famous Voyage de Crimée, in which M. De Ligne had the honour of attending the Empreſs Catherine in 1787, is, to our taſte, the moſt pleaſing of the whole. The playful and picturesque ſtyle of M. De Ligne has caſt a pleaſing light on the new objects which he has to repreſent, and has arranged them in intereſting groups with the auguſt perſonages in whoſe train they were ſurveyed. Theſe letters remind us, in many places, of Lady Mary Wortley's charming correſpondence from Turkey. The gaiety, to be ſure, is more reſtleſs and impatient, and the compliments more high-flown and ambitious; but there is the ſame ſingular combination of the tone of the world, with the deſcription of rude and romantic objects—reflections ſpringing up in the midſt of pomp and diſſipation—and pleaſantries interſperſed with narrations of national importance. The deſcription of the court of Catherine, with its profuſe magnificence, and its mixture of Aſiatic and European coſtume, is given in the true ſtyle of a Pariſian.

'Ah! bon Dieu! quel train! quel tapage! que de diamans, d'or, de plaques et de cordons, sans compter le Saint-Esprit! Que de chaines, de rubans, de turbans et de bonnets rouges, fourrés ou pointus! ceux-ci appartiennent à des petits magots qui remuent la tête comme ceux de votre cheminée, et qui ont le nez et les yeux de la Chine. Ils s'appellent des Lesghis, et sont venus en députation, ainsi que plusieurs autres sujets des frontières de la grande muraille de cet empire Chinois et de celui de Perse et de Byzance. C'est un peu plus imposant que quelques députés du Parlement ou des Etats d'une petite ville qui viennent de vingt lieues, par le coche, à Versailles, pour faire une sote représentation. Louis XIV auroit été jaloux de sa sœur Catherine II; ou il l'auroit épousée, pour avoir tout au moins un beau lever. Les fils des Rois du Caucase, d'Heraclius, par exemple, qui sont ici, lui auroient fait plus de plaisir que cinq ou six vieux chevaliers de Saint-Louis. Vingt Archevêques, quoiqu'un peu malpropres, avec des barbes presque jusqu'aux genoux, sont plus pittoresques que le petit collet d'un aumônier du Roi. L'escorte d'ouhlans d'un grand seigneur Polonois qui va voir son voisin à une demilieue de chez lui, a meilleur air que les Hoquetons à cheval qui précèdent le triste carrosse et les six rosses d'un homme à rabat et à grande perruque,' &c. I. 69—71.

The embarkation of the Empress and her brilliant cortege at Kiou, on that proud navigation, where the King of Poland and the Emperor of Germany came to escort and admire her, is described with equal vivacity.

'La flotte de Cléopâtre est partie de Kiovie dès qu'une cannonade générale nous a appris la débacle du Boristhène. Si on nous avoit demandé, quand on nous a vu monter sur nos grands ou petits vaisseaux,

seaux, au nombre de 80, avec trois mille hommes d'équipage : *que diable alloient-ils faire dans ces galères ?* nous aurions pu répondre : nous amuser ; et *voguent les galères.* Car jamais il n'y a eu une navigation aussi brillante et aussi agréable. Nos chambres étoient meublées de taffetas chiné, avec des divans ; et lorsque chacun de ceux qui, comme moi, accompagnent l'Impératrice, sortoit ou rentroit dans sa galère, douze musiciens, au moins, que nous avons sur chacune, célébroient notre sortie et notre rentrée ; il y avoit quelquefois un peu de danger pour y revenir le soir, en quittant, après souper, la galère de l'Impératrice, puisqu'il falloit remonter le Boristhène, et souvent contre le vent, dans une petite chaloupe. Même pour qu'il y eût de tout, nous avons essuyé une tempête, où deux ou trois galères ont échoué sur des bancs de sable. Notre Cléopâtre ne voyage pas pour séduire des Marc-Antoine, des Octave et des César. Notre Empereur est déjà séduit par l'admiration. Cléopâtre n'avale point des perles, mais en donne beaucoup,' &c.—' J'ai oublié de vous dire que le Roi de Pologne nous a attendu à Kanieve sur le Boristhène ; il y a dépensé trois mois et trois millions pour voir l'Impératrice pendant trois heures. J'allai dans une petite pirogue Zaporavienne l'avertir de notre arrivée. Une heure après, les grands seigneurs de l'Empire vinrent le chercher dans une brillante chaloupe, et en y mettant le pied, il leur dit, avec le charme inexprimable de sa belle figure et de son joli son de voix :—Messieurs, le Roi de Pologne m'a chargé de vous recommander le comte Poniatowsky.—Le diner fut très-gai ; on but à la santé du Roi, à une triple décharge de toute l'artillerie de notre flotte. En sortant de table, le Roi chercha son chapeau qu'il ne put pas trouver. L'Impératrice, plus adroite, vit où il étoit, et le lui donna.—Deux fois couvrir ma tête ! dit le Roi galamment, en faisant allusion à sa couronne.' I. 78—82.

A little after, he writes—

' Je suis dans le Harem du dernier Kan de Crimée, qui a eu bien tort de lever son camp et d'abandonner, il y a quatre ans, aux Russes, le plus beau pays du monde. Le sort m'a destiné la chambre de la plus jolie de ses sultanes, et à Ségur celle du premier de ses eunuques noirs. Ma maudite imagination ne veut pas se rider ; elle est fraîche, rose et ronde comme les joues de madame la marquise. Il y a dans notre palais, qui tient du Maure, de l'Arabe, du Chinois, et du Turc, des fontaines, des petits jardins, des peintures, de la dorure et des inscriptions partout ; entre autres dans la très-drôle et très-superbe salle d'audience, on lit en lettres d'or, en Turc, autour de la corniche : *En dépit des jaloux, on apprend au monde entier qu'il n'y a rien à Ispahan, à Damas, à Stampoul d'aussi riche qu'ici.* Depuis Cherson, nous avons trouvé des campemens merveilleux, par leur magnificence Asiatique au milieu des déserts : je ne sais plus où je suis, ni dans quel siècle je suis. Je rêve encore, me dis-je, quand je rencontre de jeunes princes du Caucase, presque couverts d'argent, sur des chevaux d'une blancheur éblouissante. Quand je les vois armés

armés d'arcs et de flèches, je me crois au temps du vieux ou de jeune Cyrus. Leur carquois est superbe: mais les traits du vôtre sont plus piquans et plus gais. Quand je rencontre des détachemens de Circassiens, beaux comme le jour, dont la taille, enfermée dans des corps, est plus serrée que celle de madame de L.; quand je trouve ici des Mourzas mieux mis que la duchesse de Choiseul aux bals de la Reine, des officiers de Cosaques ayant plus de goût que Mademoiselle Bertin pour se draper, et des meubles et vêtemens, dont les couleurs sont aussi harmonieuses que celles de Madame Lebrun dans ses tableaux, je ne reviens pas de mon étonnement. De Stare Krim, dont on a fait un palais pour y coucher une seule nuit, je découvre ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant dans deux parties du monde, et presque jusqu'à la mer Caspienne: je crois que c'est une parodie de la tentation de Satan, qui ne montra jamais rien de si beau à Notre Seigneur.' I. 89—92.

The party seems, on the whole, to have been extremely pleasant; and really leads us to hope, that the society of Emperors and Empresses may not always be quite so dull as we had imagined. Catherine, however, was unlike all other sovereigns; and appears to have possessed very unusual powers of fascination in her manners and conversation. She seems to have been quite playful, and 'de plus bel humeur,' during this whole expedition. She insisted upon making verses herself, and upon tasking M. de Ligne to fill up *bouts-rimés*. She appears even to have encouraged certain practical jokes of her grand ecuyer, and to have gone through the whole progress in a spirit of gaiety and lightheartedness, which is in itself both amiable and edifying. She did not neglect, however, to display her usual splendid munificence through the whole journey. She distributed upwards of one hundred thousand roubles in presents in every town she visited, and gave away no fewer than forty-two superb services of plate—besides diamonds and gold boxes without number. In her carriage window was a large sack full of pieces of gold, with which it was the business of M. De Ligne and her other companions to pelt the heads of the peasants, who flocked from all parts of the country,—not to gaze on their Empress—that would have been too much presumption,—but to prostrate themselves with their faces on the earth by the side of the road along which she was to pass,—to hear the sound of her chariot-wheels, and to feel the descent of the golden shower which she scattered from her moving throne. M. De Ligne denies the truth of the story of the governors of the provinces having run up temporary villages by the side of her road, and driven the people into them for fifty miles round, to give her a favourable impression of the population of their districts; but he admits, that there was a great *rassemblement* of the people, and that the Empress was only allowed to see one or

two

two streets of the towns which she had ordered to be founded, and led to believe that the whole was constructed in the same style, when, in point of fact, all the remainder was a mere huddle of hovels.

The speculations of these imperial personages on grammar and the belles-lettres, are like most other polite speculations, and do not require any particular notice; but their political dialogues possess a different sort of interest. The following passage, which seems to be faithfully recorded by M. De Ligne, in the unthinking gaiety of his heart, is calculated to awaken, in more sober minds, a thousand serious reflections.

'Je crois encore rêver quand, dans le fond d'une voiture à six places, qui est un vrai char de triomphe, orné de chiffres en pierres brillantes, je me trouve assis entre deux personnes, sur les épaules desquelles la chaleur m'assoupit souvent, et que j'entends dire en me réveillant, à l'un de mes camarades de voyage:—J'ai trente millions de sujets, à ce qu'on dit, en ne comptant que les mâles.—Et moi vingt-deux, répond l'autre, en comptant tout.—Il me faut, ajoute l'une, au moins une armée de six cents mille hommes, depuis Kamschatka jusqu'a Riga.—Avec la moitié, répond l'autre, j'ai juste ce qu'il me faut.

'Nous passons en revue, en voiture, tous les états et les grands personnages. Dieu sait comme nous les accommodons.—Plutôt que de signer la séparation de treize provinces, comme mon frère George, dit Catherine II, avec douceur, je me serois tiré un coup de pistolet.—Et plutôt que de donner ma démission, comme mon frère et beau-frère, en convoquant et rassemblant la nation pour parler d'abus, je ns sais pas ce que j'aurois fait, dit Joseph II.' I. 92—95.

This was said in 1787; and even then, it seems, the great Sovereigns of Europe considered their subjects as their property, and thought that the interference of the people, in wars supported by *their* blood and treasure, or in domestic regulations affecting *their* lives and properties, was an impertinent invasion of the privileges of royalty, which might and ought to have been repressed with firmness and disdain! It was George alone, and not the people of England, that were affected by the emancipation of America; and abuses were not to be spoken of in France, because the feelings and the dignity of Louis might be hurt by the discussion! The most foolish prince in Europe, we believe, will not speak or think *now*, as Catherine and Joseph spoke in 1787,—though courtiers may still be found, perhaps, to tell them that this is the language which becomes their condition. How M. de Ligne thought upon the matter, is pretty apparent from what he says of the Russian peasants,—those miserable wretches who were sold like the cattle on the lands they inhabited,—who were scourged at the discretion of every petty officer, civil and military, and obliged

to prostrate themselves on the earth, that they might not encounter the eyes of their munificent Sovereign. The state of these degraded beings, he assures us, admits of no improvement; and, if any such thing were attempted, they would beg not to be enlightened, or even permitted to pursue their game on the lands of their lords. They are only slaves, it seems, to the effect of keeping them from doing themselves mischief! These are nearly his very words, divested of their shallow flippancy.

'Les sujets de cet empire, qu'on a la bonté de plaindre si souvent, ne se soucieroient pas de vos États Généraux; ils prieroient les philosophes de ne pas les éclairer, et les grands Seigneurs de ne pas leur permettre de chasser sur leurs terres. Malgré la chicane qu'ils font au Saint-Esprit, ils n'en sont pas maltraités, et sont plus fins qu'on ne pense: ils ont besoin de baiser la main de leurs Popes, et de se prosterner devant la Souveraine pour être soumis. Du reste, ils ne sont esclaves que pour ne pas se faire du mal, ni à eux, ni aux autres.' I. 130, 131.

Yet M. de Ligne seems to have been really a goodnatured man, and even to have had a peculiar satisfaction in reflecting on the liberality and comprehensiveness of his own philanthropy! He knew more of the manners, however, than of the rights of nations; and makes very acute remarks on the general deportment and characteristic qualities of the Asiatic tribes.

'Il n'y a de civil, me suis-je dit en les voyant, que les gens qui ne sont pas civilisés. On se fait ici une mine douce et plus ou moins respectueuse en s'abordant. La langue est noble comme le Grec ou l'Espagnol: elle n'a ni le sifflement, ni la grossièreté, ni le traînant, ni le chanté, ni l'ignoble des langues de l'Europe. Un Tartare seroit bien étonné, en arrivant dans la ville de l'urbanité et de la grâce par excellence, d'entendre sur le Boulevard un cocher parler à ses chevaux, ou, sur la place Maubert, une dame de la Halle causer avec sa voisine. Quelle comparaison aussi entre l'insolence, l'avarice et la saleté des nations de l'Europe, et la bonhommie et la propreté de celle-ci! rien ne s'y fait sans être précédé et suivi de libations.' I. 133, 134.

The description of Moscow, too, is excellent: 'It looks exactly,' he says, 'as if three or four hundred great old chateaus had come to live together, each bringing along with it its own little attendant village of thatched cottages.'

The next series of letters is from the camp of Prince Potemkin before Oczakow and Belgrade, in 1788; and contains various characteristic traits of that most extraordinary personage. His character, M. de Ligne observes, is like the country which produced him—mines of gold here and there in the midst of deserts. To us he has always appeared in the light of a complete savage; or rather as an instructive example of what human nature, even when richly

richly gifted, would run to, if pampered by the rank manure of perpetual indulgence. Such characters, we suppose, are common enough in the courts of the East; but Potemkin is the most remarkable *spoiled child* that has been allowed to play a part on the great theatre of Europe. There are few things more instructive or more humiliating, than the account which is given in some authentic book, the title of which we have forgotten, of the way in which this great warrior used to divert the attacks of ennui. When his spirits were depressed, he used to get a little table covered with black velvet, and spread out upon it all his diamonds, and the crosses and stars of his several orders, and play with them for several hours like a baby! M. de Ligne has drawn his character at full length, and in his most brilliant manner. It is infinitely partial, we suspect; and is too full of antithesis to be either correct or in good taste; but it is very lively, and we give the greater part of it.

'Je vois un commandant d'armées (le prince Potemkin) qui a l'air paresseux, et qui travaille sans cesse; qui n'a d'autre bureau que ses genoux, d'autre peigne que ses doigts; toujours couché, et ne dormant ni jour, ni nuit, parce que son zèle pour la souveraine, qu'il adore, l'agite toujours, et qu'un coup de canon qu'il n'essuie pas l'inquiète, par l'idée qu'il coûte la vie à quelques-uns de ses soldats. Peureux pour les autres, brave pour lui; s'arrêtant sous le plus grand feu d'une batterie pour y donner ses ordres, cependant plus *Ulysse* qu'*Achille*, inquiet avant tous les dangers, gai quand il y est; triste dans les plaisirs; Malheureux à force d'être heureux, blasé sur tout, se dégoûtant aisément, morose, inconstant, philosophe profond, ministre habile, politique sublime—ou enfant de dix ans; point vindicatif, demandant pardon d'un chagrin qu'il a causé, réparant vite une injustice; croyant aimer Dieu, craignant le diable qu'il s'imagine être encore plus grand et plus gros qu'un prince Potemkin; d'une main faisant des signes aux femmes qui lui plaisent, et de l'autre des signes de croix. Les bras en crucifix au pied d'une figure de la vierge, ou autour du cou d'albâtre de sa maîtresse; ne lisant jamais, mais sondant tous ceux à qui il parle, et les contredisant pour en savoir davantage; faisant la mine la plus sauvage ou la plus agréable; affectant les manières les plus repoussantes ou les plus attirantes; voulant tout avoir comme un enfant, sachant se passer de tout comme un grand homme; sobre, avec l'air gourmand; rongeant ses ongles ou des pommes et des navets; toujours sans caleçon, en chemise, ou en uniforme brodé sur toutes les tailles; pieds nus ou en pantoufles à paillons brodés, sans bonnet, ni chapeau: c'est ainsi que je l'ai vu une fois aux coups de fusil, tantôt en mauvaise robe de chambre ou avec une tunique superbe, avec ses trois plaques, ses rubans, et des diamans gros comme le pouce autour du portrait de l'Imperatrice.' II. 4—8.

There is an infinite number of anecdotes of this singular person;—his superstition and debauchery,—his singular gaiety and delight in danger,—and the incalculable caprices of his private and official conduct. At one time, he plunged his Mahometan prisoners into a great cold bath, and insisted that they were good Greek Christians after this baptism;—at another, he resolved to have a regiment of *Jewish* cavalry, to which he gave the name of *Israelowsky*. These worthy money-changers, however, M. de Ligne assures us, made very bad soldiers; and, with their long beards and their awkward gestures, looked more like monkeys than men. This series of letters is also full of curious anecdotes of the Turks, and a variety of remarks upon the best mode of meeting and discomfiting them in the field. From these details, we should be inclined to judge more favourably of their discipline and talents, than from any other modern report of them.

The next letters are addressed to the Empress Catherine, in 1790; and begin with an account of the death of Joseph, and a very elaborate character of him. The author has more apology for his partiality in this case, than in any other; and yet is perhaps less partial. He was so intimately acquainted with the distinguished person of whom he speaks, that it may be interesting to our readers to peruse the greater part of this delineation.

'Les circonstances ont refusé à Joseph II de brillantes occasions pour se faire connoître. Il ne put pas être un grand homme; mais il fut un grand Prince, et le premier parmi les premiers.—Il avoit peur de passer pour partial dans la distribution de ses grâces. Il les accordoit sans y joindre aucune manière aimable, et les refusoit de même. Il exigeoit plus de noblesse de la part de la noblesse, et la méprisoit plus qu'une autre classe quand elle n'en avoit pas; mais il est faux qu'il ait voulu lui faire du tort. Il vouloit la plus grande autorité, pour que d'autres n'eussent pas le droit de faire du mal.—Il savoit faire le Souverain, et tenoit bien sa cour quand il le falloit absolument: il donnoit alors à cette cour, qui avoit l'air d'un couvent ou d'une caserne toute l'année, la pompe et la dignité du palais de Marie-Thérèse. Son éducation avoit été comme celle de bien des Souverains, négligée à force d'être soignée; on leur apprend tout, excepté ce qu'ils doivent savoir.—Sa politesse étoit une sauve-garde contre la familiarité. Il entendoit bien les petites nuances: il n'avoit point cette affabilité dont tant d'autres Souverains font métier, et qui leur sert à marquer leur supériorité; il cachoit celle qu'il avoit dans plusieurs genres: il racontoit fort gaiment, et avoit beaucoup d'esprit naturel.

'Il ne savoit ni boire, ni manger, ni s'amuser, ni lire autre chose que des papiers d'affaires. Il gouvernoit trop et ne régnoit pas assez. Il se faisoit de la musique à lui-même tous les jours. Il se levoit à sept heures, et pendant qu'il s'habilloit il rioit quelquefois, et

sans

sans familiarité il faisoit rire son grand-chambellan, son chirurgien et ses gens, qui l'adoroient. Il se promenoit depuis huit heures jusqu'à midi dans ses chancelleries où il dictoit, écrivoit, corrigeoit tout lui-même ; puis il alloit le soir au spectacle.

' En passant de son appartement à son cabinet, il rencontroit vingt, trente, jusqu'à cent mal vêtus, hommes ou femmes du peuple ; il prenoit leurs mémoires, causoit avec eux, les consoloit, y répondoit par écrit, ou autrement, le lendemain à la même heure, et gardoit le secret sur les plaintes quand il ne les trouvoit pas justes. Il n'écrivoit mal que lorsqu'il vouloit trop bien écrire ; ses phrases étoient longues et diffuses : il savoit à merveille quatre langues, et encore deux autres passablement.

' Sa mémoire, menagée dans sa jeunesse, en devint peut-être plus excellente ensuite ; car il n'oublioit ni un mot, ni une affaire, ni une figure : il se promenoit dans sa chambre avec celui à qui il donnoit audience, lui parloit presque avec effusion et d'un air riant, le prenoit par le coude, puis il paroissoit s'en repentir, et il reprenoit l'air sérieux. Il s'interrompoit souvent pour mettre une bûche dans sa cheminée, ou prendre les pincettes, ou aller un moment à la fenêtre. Il n'a jamais manque de parole ; il se moquoit du mal qu'on disoit de lui.' II. 75-81.

The Prince's notions of politics (and the notions of a man who had seen so much are always matters of curiosity at the least) appear again in a subsequent letter to this Imperial correspondent, and in his own peculiar style of aristocracy.

' A propos de cet hermitage, qui n'en est pas un, j'en fais bâtir un véritable sur la plus haute montagne, à une lieue de Vienne ; il s'appelle *mon refuge*, puisque je n'y suis pas plus exposé aux progrès de la philosophie qu'aux inondations. La liberté est une si belle chose! celle des Pays-Bas me ruine tous les jours davantage : celle de la France me coûtera le quart de mes revenus. J'ai été assassiné et presque jeté à l'eau en Hollande, lapidé en Suisse, *boxé* en Angleterre, et au moment d'y être pris pour matelot par la liberté de la *presse*. J'ai été aimé à Venise par la mère du Doge. J'ai manqué d'être pris sur un vaisseau par les Ragusains, qui ont la liberté de piller partout. Je ne connois pas assez Lucques et Saint-Marin pour en parler. Je m'imagine que *Gênes* porte dignement son nom. C'est une très-belle chose que la liberté, mais la voilà en bonnes mains. Des manans qui se font ministres d'un Roi prisonnier ; des curés législateurs ; des avocats politiques, et des jeunes gens qui ne peuvent pas payer le mémoire de leurs tailleurs, veulent payer les dettes de l'état.' II. 89—91.

These sentiments, we have no doubt, were once very fashionable ; but it is not every one of the loyal persons who may be inclined to patronise them, who could guess to what cause the Prince de Ligne ascribes this revolutionary impulse. It is to neither more nor less than *the expulsion of the Jesuits*.

' J'ai dit, il y a long-temps, que si l'on n'avoit pas chassé les jésuites, l'on ne verroit pas ce maudit esprit d'indépendance, de chicane, de définition, de sécheresse, se répandre comme un torrent qui renverse ou menace les trônes de toute l'Europe, excepté la Russie.' II. 109.

There is a vast deal of witty and finely-turned adulation in these letters; though frequently rising to a height of extravagance, that, in this cold country, would excite only derision. After a long *tirade*, for instance, upon the talents, beauty, and greatness of the Empress, the courteous and witty Prince recollects himself, and exclaims—' But I have become *an eagle*, I find, unawares. ' I have looked steadily on the sun. Yes; and I have not been so ' much dazzled, but that I may be believed when I say, that there ' is not a spot upon it.' The Empress had said once, that she could have done much more had she been a man; and, upon this, M. le Prince de Ligne writes a long, laboured, courtierlike epistle, to prove that she is much better as a woman. There is great talent, however, as well as great courtesy, in this diatribe. We may give a little of it for the sake of the tone, as well as of the talent.

' Un Roi a souvent envie d'être un héros. Cela est bon pour nous autres sujets, mais dangereux pour un Souverain: dès lors il s'expose à la jalousie de ses généraux, à l'esprit de parti dans sa propre armée, à la ruine ou à l'usurpation. Le grand homme disparoit imperceptiblement, et fait place à l'heureux conquérant, qui finit quelquefois par être conquis. Il rapporte dans sa cour la dureté des campagnes, l'humeur, la méfiance et la présomption.

' Mes camarades, les Mourza de la Tauride, n'auroient pas aussi bien reçu un homme, et les Zaporogues, mes voisins, dans les terres que V. M. m'a données, auroient dressé une embuscade au sublime Empereur qui auroit voulu tout voir par lui-même. L'homme perd en se montrant; la femme y gagne.

' Oserois-je ecrire tout ceci à un homme, qui s'imagine toujours qu'on veut le flatter, ou le tromper, ou lui montrer un talent qui l'offusque? Les plats courtisans cherchent à rencontrer les yeux du Souverain, qui ne sont souvent pas les plus beaux yeux du monde. On cherche sans bassesse ceux de la Souveraine, non pour avoir un grand gouvernement, mais un peu de succès dans la société. Le grand homme à cheval fait trembler généraux, soldats, grands seigneurs et paysans. Le grand homme en calèche avec cinq ou six jolies femmes qui sont ses adjudans, est suivi des acclamations des gens légers, et des bénédictions des gens qui pensent.

' Un Souverain dit toujours qu'il aime la vérité. Celle que la Souveraine apprend lui inspire plus de confiance. Elle dit:—L'on craint tant de m'ennuyer, de me déplaire, de ne pas être aussi bien traité dans mon intimité. Il faut certainement que ce soit pour mon bien qu'on ose me parle ainsi.—Ce qui n'est que fermeté de la part d'une femme, est souvent entêtement de la part d'un homme. Ce qui

qui n'est qu'indulgence, paresse, ou facilité dans l'une, est foiblesse dans l'autre.—Votre belle main electrise depuis la sentinelle qui la baise, jusqu'aux Héraclius et aux Gherai. La main peut-être séche et décharnée du grand homme, ne me feroit pas éprouver le même enthousiasme, et l'adulateur le plus prompt à la saisir s'y casseroit le nez. Si un fils de Charles VI avoit présenté son petit archiduc nouveau né aux Hongrois, auroit-il inspiré ce beau mouvement qui fit tirer le sabre pour une jeune, belle et infortunée Princesse de vingt-quatre ans, comme l'étoit notre grande Marie-Thérèse?' II. 138–144.

Of the Maxims and reflections which follow these letters, it is scarcely necessary to say any thing. They show the same acute and fine observation of manners, and of the little doublings of character which affect manners, as the passages we have already cited; and the same want of large views and ignorance of first principles. We add one or two as specimens of the manner.

' Ce qui coûte le plus pour plaire, c'est de cacher que l'on s'ennuie. Ce n'est pas en amusant qu'on plaît. On n'amuse pas même si l'on s'amuse: c'est en faisant croire que l'on s'amuse.' II. 150.

' Il est malheureux pour la vertu que tant d'actions de gens obscurs soient inconnues, et qu'on ne puisse pas remonter aux auteurs cachés des grands résultats. On pourroit peut-être en déterrer quelquesuns: ce seroit une nouvelle manière d'écrire l'histoire. On raconteroit les grands effets et ceux qui passent pour les avoir produits: et à côté l'on feroit connoître les causes et les agens ignorés: ce seroit l'histoire souterraine, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi.' II. 162.

' Il me semble que ce que nous prenons le plus tôt et quittons le plus tard, c'est l'importance. Les enfans font les nécessaires. Les vieillards s'imaginent que de vieillir est déjà un mérite. Leur œuvre dernière, leur testament se fait même avec une sorte d'orgueil.' II. 185.

' Rien ne prouve plus la médiocrité, que les petits mystères à l'oreille, les conversations dans une embrasure de fenêtre, les nouvelles de gazettes qu'on donne pour des lettres qu'on a reçues, la discrétion sur les petites choses, la petite finesse et les cachoteries. Malheur à ceux qui n'ont pas ce qu'on appelle en peinture, la manière large!' II. 189, 190.

' L'imagination a plus de charmes en écrivant qu'en parlant. Les grandes ailes doivent se ployer pour entrer dans un salon. Si elle est trop vive, trop ardente, il faut l'arrêter, car en conversation trop de feu refroidit, trop de traits blesse, trop d'esprit humilie. Pour plaire, il faut savoir descendre et se mettre a la portée du plus grand nombre.' II. 193.

The author's account of his two interviews with Rousseau, is not very interesting; except that he also bears testimony to the singular fact of his being more original, copious and eloquent, in his *extempore* conversation, than even in the most splendid of his writings. The account of Voltaire is not very new either.

The memoirs of Marmontel, at least, had previously made us acquainted with the hysterical restlessness of spirit which agitated this great man,—that perpetual and feverish activity, which wasted itself on all kinds of silly and absurd things, when more worthy ones were not at hand. Some parts of the conversation, however, are curious and characteristic.

'Nos gens d'esprit en on tant, qu'ils en mettent jusques dans les titres de leurs ouvrages. Un livre de l'Esprit!—c'est de l'esprit follet que celui-là. L'Esprit des Lois!—c'est de l'esprit sur les lois. Je n'ai pas l'honneur de le comprendre. Mais j'entends bien les Lettres Persannes: bon ouvrage que celui-là.—Il y a quelques gens de lettres dont vous paroissez faire cas.—Vraiment, il le faut bien; d'Alembert, par exemple, qui faute d'imagination, se dit géometre; Diderot, qui, pour faire croire qu'il en a, est enflé et déclamateur; et Marmontel, dont, entre nous, la poétique est inintelligible. Ces gens-là diroient que je suis jaloux. Qu'on s'arrange donc sur mon compte. On me croit frondeur, et flatteur à la cour; en ville, trop philosophe; à l'académie, ennemi des philosophes; l'ante-christ à Rome, pour quelques plaisanteries sur ses abus, et quelques gaietés sur le style oriental; précepteur de despotisme au parlement; mauvais François, pour avoir dit du bien des Anglois; voleur et bienfaiteur des libraires; libertin pour une Jeanne que mes ennemis ont rendue plus coupable; curieux et complimenteur des gens d'esprit, et intolérant, parce que je prêche la tolérance.

'Avez-vous jamais vu une épigramme ou une chanson de ma façon? C'est là le cachet des méchans. Ces Rousseau m'ont fait donner au diable. J'ai bien commencé avec tous les deux. Je buvois du vin de Champagne avec le premier chez votre père, et votre parent le duc d'Aremberg, où il s'endormoit à souper. J'ai été en coquetterie avec le second; et pour avoir dit qu'il me donnoit envie de marcher à quatre pattes, me voici chassé de Genève, où il est détesté.' II. 251—253.

There are several other scenes still more characteristic of that extreme vivacity and impatience which was continually hurrying him into little mistakes, short fits of anger, and transitions so rapid and capricious, as almost to be ridiculous. In this last particular, the Prince de Ligne seems to have copied the character of whom he was speaking. The following extract both describes and exemplifies this singular mutability.

'On auroit dit qu'il avoit quelquefois des tracasseries avec les morts, comme on en a avec les vivans. Sa mobilité les lui faisoit aimer, tantôt un peu plus, tantôt un peu moins. Par exemple alors, c'étoit Fénélon, La Fontaine et Molière qui étoient dans la plus grande faveur.—Ma niece, donnons-lui-en, du Molière, dit-il à Madame Denys. Allons dans le salon, sans façon, les Femmes Savantes que nous venons de jouer.—Il fit Trissotin on ne peut pas plus mal, mais s'amusa beaucoup de ce rôle. Malle. Dupuis, belle-

sœur

sœur de la Corneille, qui jouoit Martine, me plaisoit infiniment, et me donnoit quelquefois des distractions, lorsque ce grand homme parloit. Il n'aimoit pas qu'on en eût. Je me souviens qu'un jour que ses belles servantes Suisses, nues jusqu'aux épaules à cause de la chaleur, passoient à côté de moi, ou m'apportoient de la crême; il s'interrompit, et prenant, en colère, leurs beaux cous à pleines mains, il s'écria: *gorge par-ci, gorge par-là allez au diable.* Il ne me prononça pas un mot contre le christianisme, ni contre Fréron.' II. 255, 266.

It may give some readers pleasure to know, that M. de Ligne represents this great man as very benevolent and popular among the poor in his neighbourhood; and others may be gratified with learning, that he commonly wore iron grey stockings, with a waistcoat down to his knees, and a long wig; and that, on Sundays, he frequently put on an embroidered suit, with laced ruffles reaching to the ends of his fingers.

Such are the contents of M. de Ligne's volumes. They belong, as our readers will perceive, to the old *regime* of the Continent, and are certainly more graceful and entertaining on that account: But they are lamentably deficient in those sound views of policy which the author's constant intercourse with public characters might have led us to expect; and strongly confirm us in the opinion, that much of the misfortunes of Europe may be ascribed to the ignorance of those who lived in courts, of the progress which had been made by those who lived at a distance.

ART. X. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language: illustrating the Words in their different Significations by Examples from Antient and Modern Writers: showing their Affinity to those of other Languages, and especially the Northern: explaining many Terms, which, though now obsolete in England, were formerly common to both Countries: and elucidating National Rites, Customs and Institutions, in their Analogy to those of other Nations: To which is prefixed, a Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language.* By John Jamieson, D.D. &c. 2 Vol. 4to. Edinburgh, 1808.

THIS is a title-page of no slight pretension; but, after having gone through the book, we have no hesitation in saying, that the pretension is completely made good; and that Dr Jamieson has brought together a mass of curious and multifarious information, infinitely more valuable than any thing that has ever been presented to the public in this country under a similar form. A moderate knowledge of the Teutonic dialects has indeed been long

long claimed by our glossarists; but this has almost always been incredibly superficial; and many very curious and important affinities and illustrations still awaited him who should compare authors with authors, and not merely dictionaries with dictionaries. Of this ample store, Dr Jamieson has availed himself with singular industry and success; and has traced many striking instances of similitude between the Northern nations and the Scotch, in their manners and proverbial allusions; as well as detected the etymology, and explained the meaning, of many words which had foiled the ingenuity of his predecessors.

The preliminary dissertation on the origin of the Scottish language, has too much of a controversial character for the place which it occupies,—although it displays a great deal of learning and ingenuity, and more candour and temper than learned and ingenious men are commonly found to possess on such occasions. We cannot at present enter into the merits of this controversy, which we may probably find an early opportunity of examining. We shall only remark, in the mean time, that if Dr Jamieson's conception of the point in dispute be accurate, his whole Dictionary should be considered as an argument in support of his opinion, since it ought certainly to contain such abundant proofs of the true origin of the Scottish, as to render a formal essay on the subject unnecessary. In our humble apprehension, a clear narrative of the changes which the language has undergone from the earliest period to the present time,—with an account of the corresponding changes of customs and manners, at least so far as they may be traced or illustrated by the language,—and a view of the different dialects of the Scotch, as they are spoken in the north-eastern, western, and southern parts of the kingdom, would have formed a more appropriate introduction, and could not fail of being extremely interesting in the hands of such an author.

We should give our readers but a very imperfect idea of this work, if we were to allow them to imagine that it was interesting only to the mere philologist. It is a perpetual commentary on the antient history and habitudes of our forefathers, and the tribes from which they were descended; and contains an infinite variety of particulars which should be known to those who are very indifferent about etymologies. To such as wish to investigate the customs, manners, superstitions, legal and political institutions of the Gothic nations of Europe, the following articles present much curious and valuable information, collected from sources not easily or generally accessible, and presented in a pleasing and satisfactory form.—Abbot of Vnressoun. Arch. Arles. Bayle-fire. Belly-blind. Beltane. Borch. Botwand. Brehon. Brent. Clap. Eyttyn. Ger. Gild. Gossep. Hal-

Halloween. Hogmaney. Horn. Hows. Martins (St) Day. Mone. Moneth. Pays Eggs. Rountree. Skul. Stang. Thane. Thumblicking. Udal. Warwolf. Widdersinnis.

A very great number of passages in the old Scotch poets, which had been left in a corrupted or unexplained state by the most learned and ingenious of their editors, are restored, by means of Dr Jamieson's very extensive and minute acquaintance with the Gothic dialects, aided by a steady and sober judgment, and a correct taste, not often found among antiquarian philologists. Among these, we would particularly notice the passages that are quoted under the words—Aucht. To Beir. Brent. Brod-male. Burde. To dill. Epistel. Fernyear. Frest. To frist. Gair. Heydin. Herschip. Nittic. Schiltrum. Waith.—When the radical similarity between the language of the old English and the old Scotch poets, is considered, the value of Dr Jamieson's labours, in this respect, will be duly appretiated by those, who pursue this fashionable study on the other side of the Tweed, as well as by us, who may be supposed to feel some grateful partialities for the assistance he has afforded us in reading our favourite authors.

In a philological point of view, we consider the following articles deserving of much commendation.—*Als.* *Allthochte.* *An.* Athil. Bene. Dey. Dysmal. *Efter.* Fe. Feu. To fickle. *Gif.* Gud. *Gud-sonne.* Harlot. *Hit.* Lawit. *Ma.* Methink. *Pauky.* *Quhille.* *Rak.* *Sen,* prep. To *tiel.* *Withoutyn.* Under the articles which we have printed in italics, the accuracy of Mr Horne Tooke's derivations is examined with a reference to the analogies in the different Gothic dialects. In many important points, Dr Jamieson has satisfactorily shown, that these analogies by no means support Mr Tooke's conjectures; and we are persuaded, that if the latter had been possessed of the extensive and accurate knowledge of the Gothic dialects displayed by our author, he would not have expressed himself in so decided and undoubting a manner, nor regarded the instances he has adduced, as supported by such complete and satisfactory evidence. We hope very soon, however, to have a better opportunity of appretiating the value of this ingenious writer's discoveries.

It is impossible, of course, to give any intelligible specimens of a dictionary in a review. We shall therefore transcribe but one or two articles, just to show in what manner Dr Jamieson sets about his business; and then lay before our readers the few corrections and additional illustrations which have occurred to us in perusing his work. It is scarcely possible to select extracts in a work, which is written throughout with equal ability. We take

take the article *Gossep*, as being shorter than most others which include any dissertation.

'GOSSEP, Gossop, *s.* Gossip, one who stands as sponsor for a child.

For cowatice Menteth, apon falss wyss,
Betraysyt Wallace that was his *gossop* twyss.
Wallace, xi. 848. MS.

Schyr Ihon Menteth that tym was captane thar;
Twyss befor he had his *gossep* beyn,
Bot na frendschip betwix thaim syn was seyn.
Ibid. viii. 1593. MS.

'J. Major, when giving an account of the treachery of Menteth, mentions this very circumstance as a peculiar aggravation. Vetus est proverbium, nullus est capitalior hostis quam domesticus inimicus: in Joanne Menthetho, *cujus binos liberos de fonte leuauerat* plurimum confidebat. De Gestis Scot. Lib. III. c. 15. Fol. 73, b. Edit. Ascensian. 1521.

'Similar is the account given by R. Brunne, in his translation of Langtoft's Chronicle. It breathes all the violence of national hostility which characterised that disastrous period.

A Ihesu! whan thou wille, how rightwis is thi mede!
That of the wrong has gilt, the endyng may thei drede.
William Waleis is nomen, that maister was of theues,
Tithing to the kyng is comen, that robberie mischeues.
Sir Jon of Menetest sewed William so nehi,
He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
That was thorght treson of Jak Schort his man.—
Selcouthly he endis the man that is fals,
If he trest on his frendes, thei begile him als, &c.
Chron. p. 329.

'A. S. *godsib*, Su.G. *gudsif*, are used in the very same sense, lustricus, sponsor; from *God* and *sib*, *sif*—cognatus, (whence the Scotch *sib*), as denoting one related by a religious tie. It appears, however, that this term was more generally applied to the female sponsor, who, according to the forms still retained by the church of England, is called *God-mother*. It was then written *God-sibbe*. Hence *gossip*, in the modern acceptation, is more generally appropriated to the same sex. The male sponsor was more commonly denominated *God-father*, Su.G. *Gud-fader*; and the child, in relation to either male or female sponsor, A. S. *God-bearn*.

'These terms, originally appropriated to a relation of a religious kind, may at length have been used to denote another, which, although in itself merely civil, from the increase of superstition in the darker ages, came to be viewed so much in a religious light, as to give the name of a sacrament to that ceremony by which it was constituted. Hence, in consequence of the connubial tie, the father-in-law might be called *Gud-father*, the mother-in-law *Gud-mother*; i. e. according to the meaning of the Su.G. to which ours seem more

more immediately allied, *father in God, mother in God,* or father and mother by a *spiritual* relation; as Ihre explains *gudfader,* quasi pater spiritualis. For in Su.G. *Gud* signifies God. Most of the terms, indeed, that are now vulgarly used in Scotland with respect to alliance by marriage, were antiently appropriated to the supposed baptismal relation. In this sense, not only were *Gudfader* and *Gudmoder* used in Su.G., but the child, for whom one stood sponsor, was called his or her *gudson* or *guddoter;* the terms now appropriated by the common people to denote the relation of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. V. Ihre, vo. *Gud.* This learned writer remarks, that, in consequence of the spiritual relation supposed to be constituted at baptism, the right of the sponsor was viewed as equal to that of the natural parent. This right was denominated *Gudsifia-lag,* i. e. the law of the spiritual relation. V. GUD, as comp. with *father, mother,* &c.

'It may not be reckoned superfluous, here to mention the reason why the Goths wrote the name of the Divine Being *Gud.* During the times of heathenism, they called their false deities *God,* pl. *godin.* After the introduction of Christianity, by a slight change, they, for the sake of distinction, gave the name of *Gud* to the Supreme Being; restricting that of *God,* sometimes written *gaud,* to the former objects of their idolatrous worship. Hence, *God, gode,* afterwards had the sense of deaster, idolum. Ihre thinks, that it is too plain to require any proof, that the name, as applied to the true God, was borrowed from *gud,* bonus, good. He scouts the idea of Gr. Θεος being derived from θεαω, video, θεω, curro, or θω, dispono; accounting it far more probable that the Greeks borrowed this term from the antient Scythians, from whom, he says, they derived almost all their theology; and that it in fact has the same meaning with *Gud,* bonus. For this quality, he adds, is expressed by two words in MoesG. *gods* and *thiuths* or *thiutheigs.* Thus, *Thiuthe gasothida gredagans;* He hath filled the hungry with *good* things, Luke i. 35.; whence *thiuthtaujan,* benefacere, *thiuthspillon,* evangelizare, *thiuthjan,* benedicere. From *thiuths,* therefore, he thinks, that the Greeks and Latins, according to the various changes of cognate letters, made Ζευς, Δις, δεος, Deus, Dius, &c.'

The next relates to a word of more portentous sound.

'WIDDERSINNIS, WIDDIR SHYNNYS, WIDDIRSINS, WIDDERSHINS, WITHERSHINS, WODDERSHINS, *adv.* The contrary way, S.

Abasit I wox and *widdirsynnis* stert my hare.
Doug. Virgil, 64. 32.

With sic myscheif as aucht nocht named be,
Opynnand the gravis of scharpe iniquité,
And on the bak half writis *widdir schynnys*
Plenté of lesingis, and als perseruit synnys.
Doug. Virgil, 481. 42.

In hir unhappy hands sho held my heid,
And straikit bakward *wodershins* my hair,

Syne

Syne propheeyed I sould aspyre and speid;
Quhilk double sentence wes baith suith and sair.
Montgomerie, MS. Chron. S. P. iii. 506.

"The word *Widdirsins*, Scot. is used for *contrary to the course of the Sun*, as when we say *to go* or *turn widdirsins about*, i. e. to turn round from West to East: a Belg. *weder, weders*, A. S. *with, wither*, contra, and *Sonne, Sunne*, Sol, Scot. Bor. *Sin.*" Rudd.

'According to this idea, Belg. *wederschyn*, Germ. *widerschein*, a reflected light, the reflection of brightness, might seem allied. But though the term is indeed used to denote what is contrary to the course of the sun—this being the most obvious emblem of any thing opposed to the course of nature,—I am convinced, that neither *sonne*, nor any word conveying the idea of light or *shining*, can properly be viewed as entering into the composition of this term. It is merely Teut. *weder-sins*, contrario modo, Kilian. This is the sense as used in both passages by the Bishop of Dunkeld. In the first, indeed, Rudd. too strictly adhering to the original, *Steteruntque comae*, renders it, *straight up, upright*. But Doug. means literally to say, that the hair of Aeneas stood the wrong way, or the way contrary to nature.

In Sw. *raettsyles* denotes that which follows the course of the sun. The term, expressing the reverse, is *andsyles*.

Our ancestors ascribed some preternatural virtue to that motion which was opposed to the course of the sun, or to what grew in this way. This was particularly attended to in magical ceremonies.—Hence *Nicnevin*, the *Hecate* of the Scots, and her damsels are thus described.

Some be force in effect the four winds fetches,
And nine times *withershins* about the throne raid.
Montgomerie, Watson's Coll. iii. 17.

V. CATINE.

'This is gravely mentioned as the mode of salutation given by witches and warlocks to the devil.

"The women made first their courtesy to their master, and then the men. The men turning nine times *widder shines* about, and the women six times." Satan's Invisible World, p. 14.

'Ross, in his Additions to that old song, *The Rock and the Wee Pickle Tow*, makes the spinster not only attend to the wood of her rock, that it should be of the *rantree*, or mountain-ash, that powerful specific against the effects of witchcraft, but also to the very direction of its growth.

I'll gar my ain Tammy gae down to the how,
And cut me a rock of a *widdershins* grow,
Of good rantry-tree, for to carry my tow,
And a spindle of the same for the twining o't.
Ross's Poems, p. 134.

'The inhabitants of Orkney ascribe some sort of fatality to motion opposed to that of the sun. "On going to sea, they would reckon

reckon themselves in the most imminent danger, were they by accident to turn their boat in opposition to the sun's course." P. Kirkwall, Statist. Acc. vii. 560.

'Among the Northern nations, a similar superstition prevailed. Helga, a Scandinavian sorceress, when wishing to give efficacy to some Runic characters, for doing injury to others, observed this mode. "Taking a knife in her hand, she cut the letters in the wood, and besmeared them with her blood. Then singing her incantations, *oc geck aufug rangsaelis um treit*, she went backwards, and contrary to the course of the sun, around the tree. Then she procured that it should be cast into the sea, praying that it might be driven by the waves to the island *Drangsa*, and there be the cause of all evils to Gretter." Hist. Gretter. ap. Bartholin. Caus. Contempt. Mortis, p. 661. 662.

'This is opposed to the *Deasil* of our Highlanders, which has been considered as a relic of Druidism.

"The *Deasil*, or turning from east to west, according to the course of the sun, is a custom of high antiquity in religious ceremonies. The Romans practised the motion in the manner now performed in Scotland. The Gaulish Druids made their circumvolution in a manner directly the reverse.

"On the first of May the herds of several farms gather dry wood, put fire on it, and dance three times southways about the pile.—At marriages and baptisms they make a procession round the church, *Deasoil*, i. e. sunways, because the sun was the immediate object of the Druids' worship." Id. Tour in 1769. p. 309.

We may add one or two instances of Dr Jamieson's philological speculations.

'AN, AND, *conj.* If.

We ar to fer fra hame to fley.
Tharfor lat ilk man worthi be.
Yone ar gadryngis of this countré;
And thai sall fley, I trow, lychly,
And men assaile thaim manlyly.
Barbour, xiv. 282. MS.

Luf syn thy nychtbouris, and wirk thame na vnricht,
Willing at thou and thay may haue the sicht
Of heuynnys blys, and tyist thame nocht therfra;
For *and* thou do, sic luf dow nocht ane stra.
Doug. Virgil, 93, 54.

And thow my counsal wrocht had in al thing,
Ful welcum had thou bene ay to that King.
Priests of Pellis, p. 44.

It is frequently used by Chaucer in the sense of *if*.

Fayn wolde I do you mirthe, *and* I wiste how.
Canterbury T. v. 768.

For *and* I shulde rekene every vice,
Which that she hath, ywis I wer to nice.
Ibid. v. 10207.

An,

An, as far as I have observed, appears to be the more modern orthography, borrowed from vulgar pronunciation.

"*If*, and *An*, spoils many a good charter." S. Prov. Kelly, p. 209.

Dr Johnson has observed, that "*an* is sometimes, in old authors, a contraction of *and if*;" quoting, as a proof, the following passage from Shakespeare.

———He must speak truth,
An they will take it, so; if not, he's plain.

But this conjecture has not the slightest foundation. Su. G. *aen* is used in the same sense with our *an*. Particula conditionalis, says Ihre, literarum elementis et sono referens Græcorum ἐαν, si. He adds, that it is now almost obsolete, although it occurs very frequently in the ancient laws of the Goths. *Æn fae flogher*, si pecus transilierit; "an the fe fle." S. Leg. Westg.

Mr Tooke derives *an* from A. S. *an-an* dare; as synon. to *if*, *gif*, from *gif-an*, id. Somner indeed renders *An* as equivalent to *do* vel *dono*, I give or grant; quoting this instance from a testamentary deed in A. S., although without mentioning the place, *Ærest that ic an minum hlaforde*, &c. Primum quod ipse donavi Domino meo. Lye translates *An*, indulgeat, largiatur, Cædm. 41, 4. As *and* seems to be the old orthography of this word, Mr Tooke might probably view it as from the same origin with *and*, used in its common sense, *et*; which he derives from *An-an-ad*, dare congeriem. But as Su. G. *aen* has not only the signification of *si*, but also of *et*, in the old laws of the Goths; and as Isl. *end* has the same meaning; it does not appear probable that the A. Saxons would need to clap two words together, in order to form a conjunction that was every moment in their mouths.'

'GIF, Gyve, Geue, Gewe, *conj.* If.

Gif thay haue sic desire to Italy,
Do lat thame beild thare ciete wallis square.
Doug. Virgil, 373. 26. V. Gewe.

Gyve thai couth, thai suld declere
Of that gret dystans the matere.
Wyntown, viii. 5. 107.

"For *geue* it had plesit God to haue geuin me gretar knawlege, & ingyne, gretar fruct sulde thow haue had of the samyn." Kennedy of Crosraguell, Compend. Tractine, p. 3.

Or yet *gewe* Virgil stude wel before,—
Gif I have failyeit, baldlie repreif my ryme.
Doug. Virgil, Pref. 12. 4.

Skinner has deduced this from A. S. *gif-an*, to give, of which it has been viewed as the imperative. Although this example is more consonant, than several others, to the hypothesis, that the English conjunctions are merely the imperatives of verbs, it is attended with difficulty even here. The relation between the MoesG. and A. S. is so intimate, that if this system had been adopted in the one language, it

it can hardly be supposed that nothing analogous would appear in the other. But *gau* and *jabai* signify *if* in MoesG.; and neither of these seems to have an origin similar to that ascribed to *gif.* Not *gau;* for the imperat. pl. of *gib-an* is *gibith,* date. The latter has no better claim; for, according to the mode of Northern writers, the kind of *g* used in this word must be pronounced as *y* consonant or *i* before a vowel; being a letter of quite a different power from that used in *gib-an,* to give, which corresponds to Gr. Γ. Thus Ulphilas writes the same letter, instead of the Gr. I in ιωτα, ιωδας, ιωδαιος, &c. *Gau* itself is in different instances written in the same manner. Besides, *ibu, iof, ob, oba,* occur in Alem., and *if* in Isl., in the sense of *si.* A. S. *gu* also signifies *if,* which can have no connexion with the *v. gif-an,* but seems immediately formed from MoesG. *gau.* The learned Ihre views what he calls the dubitative particle *if, gif,* as well as the MoesG. conjunctions, as allied to Su. G. *jof,* dubium. It is also written *ef* and *if;* whence *an iwa,* without hesitation. This is the origin of the *v. jefw-a,* Isl. *if-a,* to doubt.

GIFFIS, Gyffis, *imper. v. Gif.*

Quha list attend, *gyffis* audience and draw nere.

Doug. Virgil, 12. 18.

Mr Tooke has fallen into a singular blunder with respect to this word. Douglas, he says, uses *giffis* in the sense of *if.* In proof, he quotes this very passage; Divers. Purl. i. 151. 152. But, beyond a doubt, this is the imperat. 2d pl. used in its proper sense. There are innumerable instances of the same kind, as *heris,* hear ye, Virg. iii. 27.'

We proceed now to the more useful and laborious part of our criticism, viz. to the detail of those corrections and additions by which we conceive that this valuable work may be rendered still more complete and unexceptionable.

'*Amyrale,* an Admiral.' This word, exactly in its present sense, and nearly in its present orthography, occurs first in the Byzantine historians: their term Αμηραλιος, is used to express the commander of a fleet. * It is not formed, as Mr Ritson conjectures, from Ameer al Omrah, the prince of princes, but from the Arabic word Ameer, or Emir, a prince; and the Greek word αλος, the genitive of αλς, the sea. Du Cange, in asserting that the commander of a fleet among the Saracens was called *Amiral,* seems to have been misled by the Monkish historians, who confounded the Ameer of the Saracens, and the Αμηραλιος of the Greek empire. The word and the office were introduced among

* Codinus, curopalates, who wrote a Treatise on the Rank and Duties of the different Officers of the Byzantine Court, thus explains the term. Ο αμηραλιος υπο τον μεγαν δουκαν ευρισκεται, τιμαται δε τω στολω φαντος. Codinus de Officiis, c. 5.

the Western nations of Europe during the Crusades. Dr Jamieson is mistaken, when he says that *Admiralius* is mentioned by Matthew Paris as a Saracenic designation. This historian merely says, that the *Admiralius*, or governor of Joppa, was a Saracen; confounding, as has been already remarked, two distinct terms. †

'*Assoilyie.*' Our author remarks, that, to absolve from guilt one departed, is *sometimes* represented as the act of God, in consequence of the prayers of men. This is very common in the epitaphs before the Reformation. The usual phrase is, 'Pray devoutly for the soul, whom God assoile,' &c.

'*Beik.*' This word, it should have been observed, is mentioned by Suetonius, in his Life of Vitellius, as Gallic. *Beccus* significabat rostrum apud *Gallos.*

'*Bybill.* A large writing.' Dr Jamieson observes, 'Tyrwhitt derives the word, as used by Chaucer, from the Fr.; and it is not improbable, that *Bible* might be employed in the French copy of the letter ascribed to Mary: but I have met with no direct proof that the term was thus used in that language.'

Bible was a name not unfrequently given to poems, especially to those of a satirical nature, in France, during the 13th century; and it probably was continued in the more extended sense, of a large writing, in the time of Mary. The oldest *Bible* was composed by Guiot, surnamed, de Provins, about the year 1203. It still exists in MS.; and, from the account and extracts that are given of it by Pasquier, Caylus, and Le Grand D'Aussy, it appears to be a most singular composition. The earlier part of Guiot's life was spent in visiting the most splendid courts of Europe, at the close of the 12th century; but at the time he wrote his *Bible*, he had become a monk. The poem is religious and moral, as well as satirical; but the latter character greatly predominates, and is evidently most suitable to the talents, and agreeable to the disposition of the author. He is by no means sparing in his satirical reflections on the different orders of monks; and, what is still more extraordinary, considering the age in which he lived, and the character of the Pontiff who then wore the tiara, he attacks, in most pointed and strong language, the vices of the court of Rome, and actually proposes a crusade against it, on account of its immorality, and deviation from the simplicity and purity of the Gospel. When we recollect that Innocent III., who excommunicated the Emperor Barbarossa, and obliged him to

† Hoc anno (1272) quidam Admiralius Joppensis *natione Saracenus* (quæ dignitas apud nos Consulatus vocatur.) Matt. Paris, 863. Edit. Watts.

to ask pardon on his knees, before he would take off the excommunication, then filled the papal chair, we may judge of the boldness and intrepidity of Guiot's satire. This *Bible* is not only interesting from the lively, but perhaps overcharged picture, which it gives of the manners and pursuits of the age; but it derives an uncommon degree of importance, from its containing the earliest authentic and explicit description of the mariner's compass. The fame accruing to Guiot from his poem, was so great, that other works of a similar nature, and under the same title, *Bible*, became common in France. Hugues de Bersil is supposed to have written his *Bible* a very few years after that of Guiot appeared. It is much inferior in point and vigour, as well as less interesting in the picture which it exhibits of contemporary manners. *

'*Billy.* A Companion. A Brother.' This word, in its latter sense, is very generally used among the people concerned in the coal-works in the neighbourhood of Newcastle; and in the former sense, it is applied there to the two watermen who push on the *keels* or barges;—they are called *keel-billies*. *Boolie* is an old English word, given by Phillips as signifying *beloved*.

'*Bazed*; confused, stupid. Sw. *besa*, is used to denote the state of animals so stung by insects, that they are driven hither and thither by the force of pain.' The Scotch phrase, not noticed by our author, is, that 'the beasts have ta'en the *birze*;' evidently the old English word *bry* or *brieze* (the gad-fly), with the common transposition of the letter *r*.

'*Bladarie.*' This word occurs in Bruce's Sermons, edit. 1591; and in the English version it is explained *filth, filthiness*. Dr Jamieson justly objects to this meaning, and considers it as denoting vain-glory, referring to the Teut. *blaeterige*, jactantia. The Islandic word *bladra*, which literally means the skin extend-

* Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliotheque Nationale, et autres Bibliotheques, tom. V. pp. 279, 281. Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. XXI. p. 191. Saint Palaye, in his Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, I. 245, quotes the Bible of Guiot. Pasquier seems to have been the first author who noticed these *Bibles;* but he, as well as Fauchet, and Wharton who follows Fauchet, consider Guiot as the name of the work, and Hugues as the name of the author. Le Grand D'Aussy, in the Notices et Extraits, &c. has given the fullest and clearest information on these curious poems; but declares himself unable to assign the reason why they were called *Bibles*. Fauquet and Wharton suppose it was because they contained nothing but truth. The passage containing the description of the mariner's compass is too long for insertion here; but it is given at full length by Pasquier, Les Recherches de la France. Paris, 1611, p. 723. Le Grand D'Aussy.

ed with wind (whence our word *bladder*), seems a more probable derivation, if it be not the root of the Teut. word. The transition from the literal to the metaphorical meaning, is obvious and common. To *blead*, which occurs in the reply of the Laird of Cairnborrow to the Marquis of Huntly, the day before the battle of Glenlivet. 'Na, na, my Lord, I'll blead the whelps mysell; they'll bite the better;' is evidently the verb to *lead*, with the old prefix *be*.

'*Burlaw*, Byelaw.' The explanation of this word, quoted from Skene, exactly agrees with a passage on the same subject in the Chronicle of W. Thorne. In the reign of Edward I., a dispute had arisen between the Abbot of St Austin, in Canterbury, and the Archbishop. Among the articles proposed by the Abbot, for the settlement of their differences, one is, that the antient custom, called *Bi-lage*, (Byelaw) should be had recourse to, wherever and whenever there might be occasion for it. On the Archbishop's requesting to know what is meant by *Bi-lage*, it is explained by the Abbot, to be the custom of settling differences, by the appointment of trustworthy men, without the trouble and formality of a Court of Justice. *

'*Cane*; a duty paid by a tenant to his landlord. Cane cheese, cane oats, &c. Skene apprehends that this was originally a capitation tax.' This opinion seems confirmed by the orders that were issued in the time of Charles I. to the constables of different hundreds in the county of Rutland, whereby they were commanded, in his Majesty's name, to 'levy and gather up, good, large, and serviceable capons, chickens, &c. for his Majesty's most honourable household.' This tribute, or a compromise in money, was levied indiscriminately. †

'*Cat and Clay*. The materials of which a mud-wall is constructed in many parts of Scotland. The word *cat* may itself refer to the clay.' This is the meaning of the term in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, where the chimneys of the cottages are formed nearly in the same manner as the mud-walls of which our author speaks. Bricklayers were formerly styled there, *catters and daubers*. ‡

'*Charle-wayne*.' The Anglo-Saxons sometimes called this constellation simply *waegen* or wain; though the more common term was *carles-waen*. As this latter designation was unknown to the antient Germans, the common opinion that it was so called in honour of Charlemagne is justly given up by our author; though he

* Chronic. W. Thorne, apud Twysden. Hist. Anglic. Script. p. 2001; and Somneri Glossar. in Script. voc. *Bilage*.

† Archæologia, XI. 204, &c.

‡ Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, II. 268, note.

he offers no explanation or etymology of *Charle.* It appears to us highly probable that it is the A. S. word *ceorl*, a husbandman.

'*Chevin.*' This word, which occurs in the Maitland poems, is left unexplained by Pinkerton. In confirmation of what Dr Jamieson has advanced respecting it, we may remark, that Philips gives to *cheve*, as an old English word signifying to thrive. *Chevir* Fr. *to obtain*, from which it is formed, is derived from *Chef*, caput; whence the literal sense seems to be, to 'gain the mastery.'

'*Culdees.*' Toland's derivation of this word from *Ceile-de*, separated to God, is strengthened by what he mentions, that a Chronicle written about A. D. 800, is said in the title-page to have been composed by Aonghus *Ceile-de.* *

'*Cordowan*, Spanish leather.' It would appear from the following passage in Matthew Paris, 'Vitæ xxiii abbatium St Albani,' that by *Cordowan* was originally meant, tanned, in opposition to untanned leather. 'Conventus calceamenta quæ de vili corio, quod vulgariter *Bazan* dicitur, in *alutam*, id est, *cordowon*, civiliter commutavit.'—Watts, in his Glossary to Matthew Paris, says, that *Bazan* is sheep's-skin dyed red.

'*Firth.* An Estuary.' Dr Jamieson derives this from M. G. *faran*, navigare, as it properly denotes water that is navigable; but this does not distinguish it. It seems rather to come from *frithian* protegere, as signifying a sheltered place of the sea.

'*Fordyd*, Ruined. From a verb common in O. E. *fordo.*' This may be traced in the phrases, 'I will do for him;' 'I am done for.' The last answers exactly to the line in Chaucer, 'I see no more but that I am fordo.'

'*Gysarts.* Harlequins, Mummers.' Dr Jamieson supposes that the custom of sweeping the space in which the sports of the Gysarts are performed 'is connected with the vulgar tradition concerning the light dances of the fairies, one of whom is always represented as sweeping the spot appropriated to the festivity.' But it rather refers to a custom in the old Christmas plays, where the sward, or place on which they were to be exhibited, was always carefully swept. In an entry of an old account book of the Slaters' Company in Newcastle, among other charges for the Christmas plays which they used to act, there is a distinct one 'for ditten of the swearde.' †

'*Grune.*' This word, which occurs in Barbour, and evidently means some part of Spain, which must be left to the north by a ship sailing from Britain to Seville, in all probability is the name of Corunna, which place is generally called the Groyne by our sailors.

'*Hassock.*'—'It may, however, be derived from Sw. *hwas*, a

 rush,

* Toland's Nazarenus, part II. p. 52.

† Brand, II. 370.

ruſh, juncus, &c.' The original meaning of Haſſock in Engliſh is *a rush.* In this ſenſe it occurs in Harriſon's deſcription of England, prefixed to Hollingſhed's Chronicles. Speaking of the deſtruction of the foreſts, he ſays, 'It is to be feared that brome, turfe, gal (Scotch-gale ?) heth, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, *haſſocks*, flaggs, ſtraw, &c. will be good merchandize, even in the citie of London.' In another place he ſays, 'the townes on the coaſt have little other feuel except it be turfe and *haſſocke.*' If this be regarded as the primary meaning, it will readily and ſatisfactorily explain the other ſignifications mentioned by Dr Jamieſon, as well as the uſual acceptation of the word in modern Engliſh.

'*Husband.*' A careful examination of the meaning of this word in the A. Saxon, and earlier periods of our hiſtory, convinces us of the juſtice of Dr Jamieſon's opinion, that it does not ſtrictly and etymologically include any idea of bondage. Somner, in his Gloſſary to Twyſden, has ſatisfactorily ſhown that Heordfeſte, Husfaſtene, Bonde, and Huſbande, were ſynonimous terms; ſimply implying one who poſſeſſed a houſe, without any ſervitude attached to it. In the laws of Canute, as given by John of Brompton, Heordfeſte are expreſsly diſtinguiſhed from Folgarii, or thoſe, who either did not poſſeſs a houſe, or poſſeſſed it under ſervitude.

'*Laif.* A loaf.' Dr Jamieſon notices Mr Tooke's origin of the terms, *bread, dough,* and *loaf:* but he very juſtly objects to the etymon of *bread,* in the paſt participle of the verb to *bray,* to pound. 'For (ſays he) as *bray* does not ſeem to be a Gothic verb, grain merely in a *brayed* ſtate has never been reckoned bread.' We are diſpoſed to ſeek the etymology of *bread* in the A. S. *braed-an,* to roaſt; *braedde,* roaſted. The different terms mentioned by Mr Tooke will then ſtand thus: *dough,* paſt part. of A. S. *deaw-ian,* to moiſten; denoting the meal or flour moiſtened: *loaf* paſt part. of *klaf-ian* to raiſe, denoting the dough raiſed by the *leaven*; and laſtly, *bread,* from *braedde* paſt part. of *braed-an* to roaſt; denoting the loaf after it has been expoſed to the fire.

'*Lagraetman.* From Sw. Goth. *Lag*-law, and *raett,* right.' It is worthy of remark, that Lag means not only *law,* but alſo a *ſong* or melody, like the Greek word νομος.

'*Layis.* Alloy.' The origin of this word is to be found in Fr. *lier* to bind; as the uſe of alloy is to bind the metal together, by rendering it harder. In Italian, *liga,* alloy, is evidently derived from *ligare* to bind. Somner is miſtaken in deriving the Engliſh word from A. S. *aliegg-an* to embaſe, ſince the original uſe of a mixture of inferior metal was not to embaſe.

'*Lent-fire.* A ſlow fire.' It muſt have received this name, becauſe, in the time of Popery, fire was leſs needed for culinary purpoſes during Lent than at any other ſeaſon.' This explanation

tion is far-fetched, and by no means ſatisfactory: we are diſpoſed to regard the word *lent* as derived from the Latin *lentus*, and Lent-fire, as exactly correſponding to the Lentus ignis of Pliny.

'*Lyft.* Firmament. Atmoſphere.' It is uſed in this ſenſe in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, as quoted by Wharton,

As ony fowle by the lyfte,

though he erroneouſly explains it 'a bird on wing.' 'To lift, to carry off by theft.' This occurs in the expreſſion ſhop-lifting, which renders it probable that it is derived from the M. G. *hlif-an* to ſteal. Dr Jamieſon, however, conſiders the Scotch word merely as a *ſoft expreſſion* uſed on the borders of the Highlands for ſtealing.

'*Lime.* Glue.' This meaning points out the reaſon of the application of the word in Engliſh, *Lime*, as a *cement*, and is ſtill found in the compound term *Bird-Lime.*

'*Loge.* A lodge or booth,'—more properly a ſmall cottage or hut. In an inquiſition reſpecting the rights of the Corporation of Newcaſtle over the river Tyne, in the 25th year of Henry VI, mention is made of tria cottagia vocata fiſher-logges. It is by no means improbable that *loge*, *lodge*, *logges*, all ſignifying dwelling places, are derived from log (of wood) as denoting the materials and manner in which they were firſt built.

'*Losel.* Idle raſcal.' It rather means a vagabond, a man without fixed abode. Spencer, ſpeaking of the wild Iriſh, in his time, ſays, 'conſidering that many of them be ſuch loſels and ſcatterbriſs, as that they cannot eaſily by any ſheriff, conſtable, bailiff, or any other officer be gotten,' &c. It may be traced to A. S *losian*, aufugere ut non inveniatur.

'*Making.* Poetry.' It is uſed in the ſenſe of *deed* by Wyntown.

Thay sulde never be contraire
In makyn, helpe, nor in counsaile.

'*Menyie.*' In that part of the barony of Forth, in the county of Wexford, which is nearly encloſed by the ſmall river Gill, the deſcendants of the firſt Engliſh colony ſtill retain many of the words that were common in the time of Henry IId. A ſpider is called *altercop;* a phyſician, a *leach;* a baſe-court, or quadrangle, a *bawen;* the houſehold, *menyie*, &c.

'*Menskful.*' Dr Jamieſon explains this word as ſignifying 1. Manly. 2. Noble. 3. Modeſt, moderate. 4. Mannerly. This word occurs twice in what Wharton conſiders as the earlieſt love-ſong in the Engliſh language, and which he places before or about the year 1200. In both paſſages, the ſenſe of it appears to be different from any of the four meanings given it by our author. The poet, ſpeaking of his miſtreſs, ſays,

Ich ot a burde in boure bryht
That fully semly is on syht,
Menskful maiden of myht,
Feire and free to fonde.

Afterwards, deſcribing her perſon,

Middel hes hath *menskful* small.

In this paſſage, however, it probably means, *moderately* or *gracefully* ſmall.

'*Pit and Gallows.*' It appears from a paſſage in the Chronicle of Gervaſe, that the Pit was uſed not only as a puniſhment, but alſo as an ordeal, for the purpoſe of compurgation.* The Pit and Gallows are ſaid to have exiſted in the Highlands as late as the year 1730.†

'To *pounse*, to cut, to carve, to engrave.' In a curious ordinance for regulating the apparel of the apprentices in Newcaſtle, in the year 1554, this term is uſed: in it they are forbidden, 'to daunce, dyce, carde, or mum, or uſe any gytternes: to wear any cut hoſe, cut ſhoes, or *pounced* jerkins:' they are to wear 'no ſtrait hoſe, but playn, without cutts, *pounsyng*, or gardes.'‡ Philips (New World of Words) explains it "to jagge, to cut in and out:" and agrees with Ruddiman in deriving it from the Latin *pungere*, through the Spaniſh ponçar: this is preferable to the Teutonic root to which Dr Jamieſon traces it, as it ſuits the application of the term to garments, as well as to wood or metal; whereas Teut. *ponss-en*, punctim effigiare; cælare, ſcalpere; cannot be applied, without much harſhneſs, to garments.

'*Powin.* The Peacock.'

William his vow plight to the *powin*
For favour or for feid.

It does not appear that vows were ever made to any other birds but the pheaſant and peacock; ſo that the circumſtance of Edward the IIId ſwearing by the white ſwan, moſt probably aroſe ſolely from his bearing that bird as his *impresse*. It is impoſſible to trace or aſſign the reaſon why vows were made to pheaſants and peacocks. It appears from Ælian and Pliny that both theſe birds were held in the higheſt eſtimation by the antients; and that thoſe perſons who firſt ſerved them up at entertainments were deemed guilty not only of great extravagance, but of ſomething approaching to impiety. After they were introduced as food at table, they were never uſed, even by the emperors, except on the moſt ſolemn occaſions. We are told by St Jerome (Epiſtola ad Oceanum) that the greateſt care was taken in boiling the pheaſant ſo as that

* Chronic. Gervas. apud. Twysden. Script. p. 1590.

† Letters from the North of Scotland, written between 1730 and 1740. II. p. 252.

‡ Brand, II. 228.

that the form of the bird might be completely preſerved. Domum ſuam bene regentem,—non ut Phaſidos avis lentis vaporibus coquat, qui ad oſſa perveniant, et ſuperficiem carnis non diſſolvant. From many paſſages in the Monkiſh hiſtorians, it appears that the high eſtimation in which theſe birds, particularly the peacock, were held, paſſed from the Greeks and Romans, to their Gothic conquerors and their deſcendants. The moſt ſplendid preſent that Paul III. could ſend to Pepin, conſiſted of a mantle embroidered with peacocks' feathers: and the richeſt furniture in the apartments of the middle ages, was adorned and enriched by being painted or inlaid in ſuch a manner as to preſent a ſtriking reſemblance to the tail of this bird fully ſpread out and ſtudded with *eyes*. It was never introduced at table except on the moſt important and magnificent occaſions: and as it is well known that ſolemn feaſts were generally appointed for the celebration of vows, it is highly probable that the peacock or pheaſant was choſen, from its forming the moſt grand and ſolemn part of the entertainment, as the particular object of the vow.

The flesh of the pheasant or peacock, is uniformly represented in the antient romances, as a food peculiarly suited and expressly set apart for bold and amorous knights: and he was regarded as honoured in no common degree, to whom was allotted the part of carving and distributing the bird at the grand entertainments. The feathers from the tail of the peacock were also formed by the ladies of quality into a crown, for the purpose of decorating their favourite Troubadour. The *eyes* were considered as representing the attention of the whole world as fixed upon them. As the peacock, when served up as the object of the chevaliers' vows, was always dressed in its plumage, it is not unlikely that the same whimsical resemblance between the eyes of the world, and the *eyes* of the plumage, may in some degree have given rise to the custom. *

The MS. of the Romance of Alexander, which is preserved in the National (or Imperial Library) at Paris, has four smaller poems inserted in the body of it, something in the manner of episodes. Two of these are entitled, Le Vœu du Paon, and Le Restor du Paon. The first is a poem of considerable length: the subject of it is a peacock, which, having been killed by accident, is brought in roasted and drest in its plumage, with great pomp, to a splendid feast. Before it is carved, all the guests, male

* So constantly was the peacock, as the object of his solemn vow, kept in the recollection of the Knights of Chivalry, that, for this purpose, the image of the bird was hung up in the place where they exercised themselves in the management of their horses and weapons. Matt. Paris, quoted by St Palaye, I. 185.

male and female, take a solemn vow by it. The men vow bravery and chivalry; the women engage to love and be faithful. The second poem represents the lady to whom the peacock had belonged, as mourning its loss; and describes the image of it, formed of gold, set with precious stones, which she had ordered to be made, for the purpose of preserving the remembrance of her favourite bird.† Mr Douce remarks, that 'the vow to the peacock had even got into the mouths of such as had no pretensions to knighthood.' Thus, in the 'Merchant's Second Tale, or the History of Beryn,' the host is made to say,

'I make a vow to the peacocke, there shal wake a foul mist.'‡

Under the letters QUH, Dr Jamieson has quoted from Mr Macpherson the relation in sound and meaning between *Quha* Scot. *quhas* MoesG. *hwa* S. & Sax. *huo* O. Sw. and the Latin quis. We are strongly inclined to suspect, that they are all derived from the Gothic verb *quithan*, dicere; and that as Mr Horne Tooke has satisfactorily traced the pronoun *it*, to *haïtan*, dicere, what are called the relative pronouns, in the different dialects of the Gothic and in the Latin, may be traced to a verb of similar import; if indeed quithan and haïtan be not the same verb. No more difficulty or obscurity will occur in explaining the relative pronouns, in the Gothic dialects and in Latin, by the words, *the said*, than Mr Tooke has found in explaining the personal pronoun *it*, in the same manner: for example, 'William, who conquered England, was buried at Rouen.'—'William was buried at Rouen, the said, conquered England.' The Latin *quod*, is exactly the old word *quod* said, which occurs both in Chaucer, and in the Complaint of Scotland. As a confirmation of the conjecture, that the relative pronoun properly signifies *the said*, it may be remarked, that, in the Mœsogothic, *saec*, qui, and the article *sa*, corresponding sometimes to the Greek ὁ, and sometimes to ὅτις, bear the strongest appearance of being part of a Gothic verb, corresponding to the A. S. *saegen*, dicere.

'*To ride at the ring.*' Dr Jamieson observes, that 'this antient custom, which was reckoned an amusement worthy of the most celebrated knights, is now observed only by the fraternity of *chapmen.*' In Germany, it is still to be traced at the fairs. A common amusement there is what are called *tournemens*, very similar to the roundabouts exhibited at all the fairs in England, except that those who ride in the *tournemens* are provided with a javelin, which, as they are carried rapidly round, they either endeavour to throw into a lion's mouth, or against the eye of a bird;

† Notices des MSS. vi. 117, 118.
‡ Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, i. 473.

bird; or, keeping it in their hands, they attempt to carry off a ring hung up for that purpose.

'*Royster.* A vagabond, a freebooter, a plunderer.' The earliest notice we find of these stipendiary troops in England, occurs in John of Brompton: he says, that Richard I. (A. D. 1194) employed foreign hired troops, called *Ruckee.* William of Newbury, also mentions them about the same period, as Stipendiarias Bribantiorum copias, quas Rutas vocant. The passage quoted by Dr Jamieson from the Chronicle of Melross, 'In reditu autem suo Rutarii, seu *Ministri Diaboli* Abbatiam de Coldingham expoliaverunt,' is illustrated by the passage he quotes from Kilian, under the word Swarttytter,—a description of forces similar to the Roysters. 'Their garments, as well as their spears, were black. They called themselves *devils,*' &c. Royster is undoubtedly derived from Ger. ruyter, a cavalry soldier; whence ruyten, or reuten, a provincial word, prædari, devastare; probably, because cavalry, being better fitted for rapid and sudden incursions, were more given to plunder than foot soldiers; in the same manner as, *to dragoon,* signifies to devastate, or plunder a country. *

'*Runt.* An old Cow.' This word, if we may judge from the application of the Latin word, *runcinus,* formed from it, was originally used to denote horses, as well as cattle. In the lives of the Abbots of St Albans, by Matthew Paris, already quoted, the different kinds of horses then in use are thus enumerated: 'manni, *runcini,* summarii, veredarii, averii.' (p. 1049. Edit. Watts). The last are the Scotch *avers,* expressly stated by Roger Hoveden, (A. D. 1194, p. 424.), to be horses for the cart or plough.

'*Schawaldouris.* Exp. wanderers in the woods, subsisting by hunting.' In the Glossary to Wyntoun, it is said, '*Shavaldres* occurs in Knyghton.—Promp. Par. expl. it *discussor,* vagabundus.' But this explanation given by Promptorium Parvulorum, will not suit the passage in Knyghton, in which the term occurs: his words are, 'Insultavit eos Dominus Gilbertus de Middleton, miles, cum aliis *elegantibus Shavaldres.*' † John of Troketon, in his Annals, speaking of the same circumstance, says, 'Quidam fatui

* John de Brompton, 1268, Gul. Neub. Rer. Ang. Lib. v. c. 13. and Lib. ii. c. 17.—Matthew Paris makes frequent mention of the ruptuarii, in such a manner as to confirm the opinion that they were from Brabant. They appear to have become formidable, and committed many outrages in different parts of the Continent, before they were known in England. In a Lateran Council held A. D. 1179, an edict was passed, 'de ruptuariis et Brabantiis prædonibus, qui fideles affligunt.' Matt. Par. p. 114. Edit. Watts.

† Knyghton apud Twysden. Scrip. Ang. p 2535.

fatui de Northumbria, qui dicebantur Shavaldres.' (p. 40.) In the Tinmouth Chartulary given by Brand, mention is made of certain houses that were pulled down by order of the Prior, 'ne Shavaldores et alii latrones tempore guerre et Shavald' should find shelter in them. On a comparison of the different passages in which the term occurs, it will be found that the Shavaldres were confined principally, if not entirely, to the borders of England and Scotland. They were, no doubt, freebooters; but it is impossible to ascertain in what they were distinguished from other freebooters; and therefore, the origin of the name cannot certainly be traced. Dr Jamieson's derivation, adopted partly from the editor of Wyntoun, is certainly preferable to that of Somners. The Doctor derives the word from *schaw*, a wood or forest, and *wall-a*, to wander; whence Shavaldres would signify those who lived in the woods. Somner views the word as a corruption of *chevaliers:* the epithet *elegantes*, used by Knyghton, gives some colour to this conjecture; but it is by no means probable, that, at a period when the French language was so well known, such a corruption of it would have taken place. ‡

'*Sergeand.*' Dr Jamieson is certainly correct in regarding this as a corruption of the Latin *serviens*. Pasquiere observes, that in the old history of St Denis, in the life of Debonaire, the author calls the servants of God, Sergens de Dieu. He adds, that the reason why the inferior officers of a court of justice are called Sergeant, is, that formerly the higher officers employed their servants or *sergens:* this he proves to have been the custom in France. §

'*Sheal.* A hut for fishermen.' From some old records given by Brand, in his History of Newcastle, it appears that the town of *Shields* originally consisted of some fishermens' huts; from this circumstance, and the word in these records being uniformly spelt *sheels*, there can be little doubt respecting the etymology of the name.

'*To slicht.* To contrive.' This word is used as a substantive by Wyntoun.

'Be gyftis or be other things
As quhyntans, *slychts*, or other things.'

It is still found in *slight of hand.*

'*Sleuth-hund.* A blood-hound.' Dr Jamieson refers to Mr Horne Tooke's ingenious derivation of the English corresponding word *slot* from A. S. *slitan* findere, quasi, the mark of a cloven foot. *Slot*, in the language of hunters, is the view or print of a stag's foot in the ground. That it strictly and originally means the division,

‡ Somneri Glossar. in Tuysden. Script. in Voc. *Shavaldres.*
§ Pasquiere, Recherches, p. 850.

division, or opening between the toes, and consequently must be traced to A. S. *slitan*, is evident, from the rules given to distinguish the age of a stag by the *slot:* ' ' a hart of the second head leaves a *wider slot* than a hind;' *i. e.* its claws open wider.

' *To sorn.* To obtrude one's self on another for bed and board.' Spenser, in his State of Ireland, mentions *sorchin* as one of the customary services of the Irish landlords, but which, in his time, had been lately abrogated. The term *gilliewetfoot*, applied as a contemptuous designation for the retainers of a laird or chieftain, whom he took with him where he quartered, or *sorned* himself on his vassals, is derived partly from *gillie*, Gael. a boy or servant, and not, as Dr Jamieson conjectures, from Is. *gillia*, decipere. The author of the Letters from the North of Scotland (between 1730 and 1740), informs us, that when a chieftain went on a visit, he was attended, among others, by his *gillie-more*, who carried his broad sword: *gillie-casflue*, who carried him over the fords: *gillie-camstraire*, who led his horse: and *gillie-trusharnish*, his baggage man. As the employment of one of these servants was to carry the laird over the fords, is it not probable that the contemptuous appellation applied to them all, was derived from this office, which would appear to the lowlanders mean and degrading; and that the word *gillie-wetfoot*, is simply a servant with wet feet?

' *Stalwart.* Brave, courageous.' This word occurs in Robert of Gloucester, as quoted by Wharton, ' And the kyngtes the stalwordore,' where he explains it *more brave.* Respecting the meaning of the term, there can be little doubt; but its etymology is not so obvious. Dr Jamieson seems disposed to trace it to A. S. *stael-wort*, captu dignus. In the passage from the Saxon Chronicle, which he quotes, where *stalwart* is applied to ships, it certainly has this meaning and derivation; but it appears forced and harsh to suppose, that *brave* and *courageous* are secondary senses of a word signifying captu dignus. It may be derived, with more propriety, from *stale* or *stall*, a body of armed men, or the centre of an army. *Stalwart*, literally worthy of a place in the main body of an army; thence, brave, courageous.

' *Sterling*, a term used to denote English money.' Somner objects, with considerable ingenuity and force, to the derivation of this word generally given, and adopted by Dr Jamieson. His objections are founded, both on the date of its first occurrence, and on the orthography which it then had. He traces it as far back as the year 1082, when it is written lib. *Sterilensium.* This form it preserved till the time of Henry II, when it appears to have been changed to *Sterlinium.* Soon afterwards, in John of Salisbury,

Salisbury, it is written *Sterlingi;* it was at last changed to Esterlingi; whence it has been supposed to be derived from *Esterling*, a name given to the people of the north east of Germany, who are said to have first brought the art of refining silver into England. In that case, however, the orthography would have changed from Esterling to Sterling, and not from Sterling to Esterling. Besides, the coming over of the Esterbrigs is known to have taken place in the reign of John, long after the use of the word. Somner derives it from A. S. *steore*, lex, canon, signifying money made according to a fixed rule, or lawful money. *

'*Summer*. A sumpter-horse.' This word may be traced through the old Flemish word *sommier*, which Dr Jamieson gives to the Greek σαγμα, onus. Sumpter-horses were called by the later Greeks σαγμαρια, whence the Latins derived their sagmarii equi. In the barbarous ages, the word was corrupted into summarius, and saumarius; evidently the immediate predecessor of the Scotch sumer, or summer, and the O. Fland. and Fr. sommier.

'*Tappie Tousie.*' Dr Jamieson has very satisfactorily and ingeniously traced this play, still common among children in Scotland, to the antient mode in which 'one received another as his bondsman.' In further illustration of this curious disquisition, we may observe, that the great honour attached to long hair, and the disgrace attending the cutting it off, are observable in the Jus capillitii of France. Gregory of Tours mentions, that when her sons were brought before Queen Crothilda by Arcadius, with a pair of scissars and a sword, offering her the choice either of having them shaven or put to death, she exclaimed, 'If they are not to reign, I would rather have them put to death, than deprived of their hair.' † Agathias relates, that it was not lawful for the Kings of France to cut their hair: it was suffered to grow very long, and great care was taken of it, as the mark and honour of royal blood. This custom continued till the time of Lewis the younger. The disgrace and infamy connected with being deprived of the hair, may be traced in the French proverb, 'Je veux qu'on me tonde.'

St Palaye informs us, that, in the days of chivalry, the knights were particularly careful to keep their fore locks cut close. This may satisfactorily be accounted for, from the great indignity which they must have suffered, if, when in the power of their opponents, they had been dragged or seized by the hair. The idea of servitude and feeling of indignity associated with the laying hold of,

* Somneri Glossar. in Twysden Script. in voc. *Sterlingus.*

† Gregor. Tour. Hist. lib. iii. c. 18.

of, or cutting the hair, was not confined to the Gothic nations. Holingshed says, that, in his time, the wild Irish were proud of their *glibs*, or long hair, and that to crop the front thereof they took for a notable piece of villainy! (chap. 8.)

'*Unfute sair.*' This compound word, occurring in 'Priests Peblis,' where Mr Pinkerton suspects the text to be corrupt, is properly explained by Dr Jamieson as signifying free from pain: he need not, however, have gone so far back as the A. S. *fotasare*, since *foot-sore* is still very commonly used.

'*Vow*, interjection: expressive of admiration or surprise.' In this instance, also, we apprehend our author has looked too far for the origin, when he traces the word to Isl. *vo* metuendum quid; repente; since it is evidently the same as '*I vow:*' at least, in the passage quoted from Ramsay's Poems, the Islandic derivation will by no means suit the sense in which it is employed, while the explanation we have suggested perfectly explains and agrees with it.

'Yonder he comes; and *vow* but he looks fain;
Nae doubt he thinks that Peggy's now his ain.'

'*Vowbet.*' This word is very common in Berwickshire, where it is applied to the caterpillar. It does not however imply, that the insect is hairy. The *hairy vowbet*, or *yowbit*, as the word is there pronounced, is the name given by boys to the caterpillar of the tiger-moth.

'*Wadds.*' This youthful amusement, in which the two opposing parties cross the boundary, and make incursions into the territories of each other, for the purpose of carrying off the *wads* or *pledges*, is called, on the Borders, by the very appropriate name of *Scotch and English*. In the south of England, it has the blunter appellation of *steal clothes*.

'*Wald.* The plain, the ground. A. S. *wold*, planities.' This seems originally the same with *faeld*, *fild*, Alim. *ueld*, Belg. *veld* Su. G. *felt*, id. The derivation of field given by Mr H. Tooke, is more probable, and better supported. He regards it as originally and properly meaning the ground where the timber has been felled. In confirmation of this ingenious conjecture, it may be remarked, that in all the old grants of privileges, *on wode et felde* constantly occur opposed to each other, evidently meaning the woody and cleared ground. *Wold* and *weald*, as respectively used, when we speak of the *wolds* of Yorkshire, and the *weald* of Kent, have been erroneously regarded as the same word; though their application to two such opposite tracts of country might have pointed out a difference in their meaning. The A. S. *waeld* signifies a woody country; *wold*, an open, plain, and generally a high country.

'*Wemless.*'

'*Wemeless.*' This word is erroneously explained by Pinkerton 'without appetite.' Dr Jamieson justly regards it as merely the A. S. *wem-less*, faultless. It occurs in a very old version of the Psalms, quoted by Selden, and supposed by him to have been made in Edward II.'s time.

'Louerd who in thi Teld, who sal wun
In thi heli hille, or who rest mun?
He that incomes *wemless*,
And ever wirkes rightwiseness.' *

'*Wynd.* An alley, a lane.' Dr Jamieson is not inclined to accede to the opinion of Sir John Sinclair, that the narrow lanes in Edinburgh and Stirling are called *winds*, from their being generally *winding*; for 'these lanes,' he observes with perfect accuracy, 'are generally *straight*.' 'Perhaps rather from A. S. *wind-an*, to turn, as these are *turnings* from a principal street.' This conjecture is fully confirmed by the name which is given to the alleys or lanes in Newcastle: they are called *chares*, from the A. S. *gyran* to turn; the root from which Mr H. Tooke has derived *chair*, a moveable seat, to *char*, to *turn* wood into coal; *a-jar* or *a-char*, applied to the window or door on the turn; and several other words. The application of the term *chares* to the turnings from the principal streets in Newcastle, may be regarded as a further proof and illustration of the truth of Mr Tooke's etymology.

'*Yule.* The name given to Christmas.' To this very learned and ingenious disquisition, we have very little to add. Of the various derivations given of the word, Dr Jamieson is disposed to consider Mœs. G. *uil* the sun; *huel*, rota; and Su. G. *oel*, commissatio, as the most satisfactory. We are disposed to adopt the last: 1. Because the word *yule* is still applied to different feasts; as the Yule of August; and not merely to feasts at those seasons of the year, when the change in the length of the days would naturally lead the Northern nations to borrow the name, and institute the celebration of their feast from the sun. 2. The Su. G. *oel* literally signifies, as Dr Jamieson observes, *ale* or beer, the chief liquor among the Goths; and metonymically, a feast. Now, the fair or feast annually held on the Cotswold hills in Gloucestershire, is called Whitsuntide-*ale*.

We have noted down the following words, as being either entirely omitted, or not explained in all their meanings. *Capes:* this term is used in Lothian in the sense mentioned by Grose, viz. ears of corn broken off in thrashing.—*Change*, an alehouse.—*Coul*, a nightcap.—*Coom-cieled*, arched or coved in the cieling.—*Corn*, oats: *to*

* Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 60.

to corn the horſes.—*Crockie*, a low ſtool.—*Crooner*, the grey gurnard.—*Cuitekins*, gaiters.—*Drops*, ſhot.—*Factor*, land-ſteward.—*Flesher*.—To *fier*, to mark out the ridges with a plough.—*Hypothek*.—*To hock*, to hough.—*Hewid* is uſed by Wyntoun in its literal ſenſe,

'Bathe *hewid*, feet and ſhanks bar.'

Huche. Kennet, in the Gloſſary to his Parochial Antiquities, in v. *Hoke*, ſays, 'The Latin *huchia*, in Picardy and Scotland *huche*, in England *hutch*, is a long wooden box.' It is ſtill uſed in Newcaſtle to denote the common treaſury of the town.—*Jigot*, a jigot (leg) of mutton.—To *labour*, to till.—Lime-*ſhells*.—*Livery-meal*, meal given in part of wages.—*Metal; to metal*; applied to mending the roads with ſtones.—*Ramrais*: This word is uſed by boys in a different ſenſe from that in which it occurs in Douglas's Virgil: when they take a running leap, they ſay they take a *ram-rais*.—To *row*, to wind up; as, to row up a clock.—*Timmer*, wooden; a timmer leg.—*Touchbell*, the ear wig.—*Thorter* is uſed in its literal ſenſe: to *thorter* land, is to harrow it acroſs the direction of the ridges.—*Tutor*, guardian.—*Wa-gang crap*, the laſt crop before the tenant leaves the farm.—To *whillie-whallie*, to dally, to loiter.

Many of theſe things, perhaps, are ſcarcely worth recording; but it is the object of a compilation like the preſent, to preſerve the memory of what is about to periſh, and to gratify *future* inquirers, and ſpare the brains of future antiquaries, by collecting and recording all that is evidently falling into diſuſe, even although much of it ſhould ſtill be familiarly and clearly remembered. Dr Jamieſon's work is perhaps as valuable for the luminous explanation it affords of exiſting cuſtoms and expreſſions, as for the learning and patient reſearch with which he has reſcued remoter uſages from a more immediate oblivion.

ART. XI. *Cœlebs in Search of a Wife; comprehending Observations on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals.* 2 Vol. London, 1809.

THIS book is written, or ſupposed to be written, (for we would ſpeak timidly of the myſteries of ſuperior beings), by the celebrated Mrs Hannah Moore! We ſhall probably give great offence by ſuch indiſcretion; but ſtill we muſt be excuſed for treating it as a book merely human,—an uninſpired production,—the reſult of mortality left to itſelf, and depending on its own limited reſources. In taking up the ſubject in this point of view, we ſolemnly diſclaim the ſlighteſt intention of indulging in any indecorous levity, or of wounding the religious feelings of a large

class of very respectable persons. It is the only method in which we can possibly make this work a proper object of criticism. We have the strongest possible doubts of the attributes usually ascribed to this authoress; and we think it more simple and manly to say so at once, than to admit nominally superlunary claims, which, in the progress of our remarks, we should virtually deny.

Cœlebs wants a wife; and, after the death of his father, quits his estate in Northumberland to see the world, and to seek for one of its best productions, a woman, who may add materially to the happiness of his future life. His first journey is to London, where, in the midst of the gay society of the metropolis, of course, he does not find a wife; and his next journey is to the family of Mr Stanley, the head of the Methodists, a serious people, where, of course, he does find a wife. The exaltation, therefore, of what the authoress deems to be the religious, and the depretiation of what she considers to be the worldly character, and the influence of both upon matrimonial happiness, form the subject of this novel,—rather of this *dramatic sermon.*

The machinery upon which the discourse is suspended, is of the slightest and most inartificial texture, bearing every mark of haste, and possessing not the slightest claim to merit. Events there are none; and scarcely a character of any interest. The book is intended to convey religious advice; and no more labour appears to have been bestowed upon the story, than was merely sufficient to throw it out of the dry, didactic form. Lucilla is totally uninteresting; so is Mr Stanley; Dr Barlow still worse; and Cœlebs a mere clod or dolt. Sir John and Lady Belfield are rather more interesting—and for a very obvious reason, they have some faults;—they put us in mind of men and women;—they seem to belong to one common nature with ourselves. As we read, we seem to think we might act as such people act, and therefore we attend; whereas imitation is hopeless in the more perfect characters which Mrs Moore has set before us; and therefore, they inspire us with very little interest.

There are books however of all kinds; and those may not be unwisely planned which set before us very pure models. They are less probable, and therefore less amusing than ordinary stories; but they are more amusing than plain, unfabled precept. Sir Charles Grandison is less agreeable than Tom Jones; but it is more agreeable than Sherlock and Tillotson; and teaches religion and morality to many who would not seek it in the productions of these professional writers.

But, making every allowance for the difficulty of the task which

which Mrs Moore has prescribed to herself, the book abounds with marks of negligence and want of skill; with representations of life and manners which are either false or trite.

Temples to friendship and virtue must be totally laid aside, for many years to come, in novels. Mr Lane, of the Minerva Press, has given them up long since; and we were quite surprised to find such a writer as Mrs Moore busied in moral brick and mortar. Such an idea, at first, was merely juvenile; the second time, a little nauseous; but the ten thousandth time, it is quite intolerable. Cœlebs, upon his first arrival in London, dines out,—meets with a bad dinner,—supposes the cause of that bad dinner to be the erudition of the ladies of the house,—talks to them upon learned subjects, and finds them as dull and ignorant as if they had piqued themselves upon all the mysteries of housewifery. We humbly submit to Mrs Moore, that this is not humorous, but strained and unnatural. Philippics against frugivorous children after dinner, are too common. Lady Melbury has been introduced into every novel for these four years last past. Peace to her ashes!

The characters in this novel which evince the greatest skill, are unquestionably those of Mrs Ranby and her daughters. There are some scenes in this part of the book extremely well painted, and which evince that Mrs Moore could amuse, in no common degree, if amusement was her object.

'At tea I found the young ladies took no more interest in the conversation, than they had done at dinner, but sat whispering and laughing, and netting white silk gloves, till they were summoned to the harpsichord. Despairing of getting on with them in company, I proposed a walk in the garden. I now found them as willing to talk, as destitute of any thing to say. Their conversation was vapid and frivolous. They laid great stress on small things. They seemed to have no shades in their understanding; but used the strongest terms for the commonest occasions; and admiration was excited by things hardly worthy to command attention. They were extremely glad and extremely sorry, on subjects not calculated to excite affections of any kind. They were animated about trifles, and indifferent on things of importance. They were, I must confess, frank and good natured; but it was evident, that as they were too open to have any thing to conceal, so they were too uninformed to have any thing to produce; and I was resolved not to risk my happiness with a woman who could not contribute her full share towards spending a wet winter cheerfully in the country.' I. 54, 55.

This trait of character appears to us to be very good. The following passage is still better.

'In the evening, Mrs Ranby was lamenting in general, in rather customary terms, her own exceeding sinfulness. Mr Ranby

said, " You accuse yourself rather too heavily, my dear; you have sins to be sure." " And pray what sins have I, Mr Ranby?" said she, turning upon him with so much quickness that the poor man started. " Nay," said he meekly, " I did not mean to offend you; so far from it, that hearing you condemn yourself so grievously, I intended to comfort you, and to say that, except a few faults—" " And pray what faults?" interrupted she, continuing to speak, however, lest he should catch an interval to tell them. " I defy you, Mr Ranby, to produce one." " My dear," replied he, " as you charged yourself with all, I thought it would be letting you off cheaply by naming only two or three, such as——" Here, fearing matters would go too far, I interposed; and, softening things as much as I could for the lady, said, " I conceived that Mr Ranby meant, that though she partook of the general corruption—" Here Ranby, interrupting me with more spirit than I thought he possessed, said, " General corruption, Sir, must be the source of particular corruption. I did not mean that my wife was worse than other women."—" Worse, Mr Ranby, worse?" cried she. Ranby, for the first time in his life, not minding her, went on, " As she is always insisting that the whole species is corrupt, she cannot help allowing that she herself has not quite escaped the infection. Now, to be a sinner in the gross, and a saint in the detail—that is, to have all sins, and no faults—is a thing I do not quite comprehend."

' After he had left the room, which he did as the shortest way of allaying the storm, she, apologizing for him, said " he was a well-meaning man, and acted up to the little light he had;" but added, " that he was unacquainted with religious feelings, and knew little of the nature of conversion."

' Mrs Ranby, I found, seems to consider Christianity as a kind of free-masonry; and therefore thinks it superfluous to speak on serious subjects to any but the initiated. If they do not *return the sign*, she gives them up as blind and dead. She thinks she can only make herself intelligible to those to whom certain peculiar phrases are familiar; and though her friends may be correct, devout, and both doctrinally and practically pious; yet if they cannot catch a certain mystic meaning,—if there is not a sympathy of intelligence between her and them,—if they do not fully conceive of impressions, and cannot respond to mysterious communications, she holds them unworthy of intercourse with her. She does not so much insist on high moral excellence as the criterion of their worth, as on their own account of their internal feelings.' I. 60–63.

The great object kept in view throughout the whole of this introduction, is the enforcement of religious principle, and the condemnation of a life lavished in dissipation and fashionable amusement. In the pursuit of this object, it appears to us, that Mrs Moore is much too severe upon the ordinary amusements of mankind,

kind, many of which ſhe does not object to in this, or that degree; but altogether. Cœlebs and Lucilla, her *optimus* and *optima*, never dance, and never go to the play. They not only ſtay away from the comedies of Congreve and Farquhar, for which they may eaſily enough be forgiven; but they never go to ſee Mrs Siddons in the Gameſter, or in Jane Shore. The fineſt exhibition of talent, and the moſt beautiful moral leſſons, are interdicted, at the theatre. There is ſomething in the word *Playhouse*, which ſeems ſo cloſely connected, in the minds of theſe people, with ſin, and Satan,—that it ſtands in their vocabulary for every ſpecies of abomination. And yet why? Where is every feeling more roufed in favour of virtue, than at a good play? Where is goodneſs ſo feelingly, ſo enthuſiaſtically learnt? What ſo ſolemn as to ſee the excellent paſſions of the human heart called forth by a great actor, animated by a great poet? To hear Siddons repeat what Shakeſpeare wrote! To behold the child, and his mother—the noble, and the poor artiſan,—the monarch, and his ſubjects—all ages and all ranks convulſed with one common paſſion—wrung with one common anguiſh, and, with loud ſobs and cries, doing involuntary homage to the God that made their hearts! What wretched infatuation to interdict ſuch amuſements as theſe! What a bleſſing that mankind can be allured from ſenſual gratification, and find relaxation and pleaſure in ſuch purſuits! But the excellent Mr Stanley is uniformly paltry and narrow,—always trembling at the idea of being entertained, and thinking no Chriſtian ſafe who is not dull. As to the ſpectacles of impropriety which are ſometimes witneſſed in parts of the theatre; ſuch reaſons apply, in a much ſtronger degree, to not driving along the Strand, or any of the great public ſtreets of London, after dark; and if the virtue of well educated young perſons is made of ſuch very frail materials, their beſt reſource is a nunnery at once. It is a very bad rule, however, never to quit the houſe for fear of catching cold.

Mrs Moore practically extends the ſame doctrine to cards and aſſemblies. No cards—becauſe cards are employed in gaming; no aſſemblies—becauſe many diſſipated perſons paſs their lives in aſſemblies. Carry this but a little further, and we muſt ſay,—no wine, becauſe of drunkenneſs; no meat, becauſe of gluttony; no uſe, that there may be no abuſe! The fact is, that Mr Stanley wants not only to be religious, but to be at the head of the religious. Theſe little abſtinences are the cockades by which the party are known,—the rallying points for the evangelical faction. So natural is the love of power, that it ſometimes becomes the influencing motive with the ſincere advocates of that bleſſed religion, whoſe very characteriſtic excellence is the humility which it inculcates.

We observe that Mrs Moore, in one part of her work, falls into the common error about dress. She first blames ladies for exposing their persons in the present style of dress; and then says, if they knew their own interest,—if they were aware how much more alluring they were to men when their charms are less displayed, they would make the desired alteration from motives merely selfish.

'Oh! if women in general knew what was their real interest! if they could guess with what a charm even the *appearance* of modesty invests its possessor, they would dress decorously from mere self-love, if not from principle. The designing would assume modesty as an artifice; the coquet would adopt it as an allurement; the pure as her appropriate attraction; and the voluptuous as the most infallible art of seduction.' I. 189.

If there is any truth in this passage, nudity becomes a virtue; and no decent woman, for the future, can be seen in garments.

We have a few more of Mrs Moore's opinions to notice.—It is not fair to attack the religion of the times, because, in large and indiscriminate parties, religion does not become the subject of conversation. Conversation must and ought to grow out of materials on which men can agree, not upon subjects which try the passions. But this good lady wants to see men chatting together upon the Pelagian heresy—to hear, in the afternoon, the theological rumours of the day—and to glean polemical tittle-tattle at a tea-table rout. All the disciples of this school uniformly fall into the same mistake. They are perpetually calling upon their votaries for religious thoughts and religious conversation in every thing; inviting them to ride, walk, row, wrestle, and dine out religiously;—forgetting that the being to whom this impossible purity is recommended, is a being compelled to scramble for his existence and support for ten hours out of the sixteen he is awake;—forgetting that he must dig, beg, read, think, move, pay, receive, praise, scold, command and obey;—forgetting, also, that if men conversed as often upon religious subjects as they do upon the ordinary occurrences of the world, that they would converse upon them with the same familiarity, and want of respect,—that religion would then produce feelings not more solemn or exalted than any other topics which constitute at present the common furniture of human understandings.

We are glad to find in this work, some strong compliments to the efficacy of works,—some distinct admissions that it is necessary to be honest and just, before we can be considered as religious. Such sort of concessions are very gratifying to us; but how will they be received by the children of the Tabernacle? It is quite clear, indeed, throughout the whole of the work, that an apologetical

apologetical explanation of certain religious opinions is intended; and there is a considerable abatement of that tone of insolence with which the improved Christians are apt to treat the bungling specimens of piety to be met with in the more antient churches.

So much for the extravagances of this lady.—With equal sincerity, and with greater pleasure, we bear testimony to her talents, her good sense, and her real piety. There occurs every now and then in her productions, very original, and very profound observations. Her advice is very often characterised by the most amiable good sense, and conveyed in the most brilliant and inviting style. If, instead of belonging to a trumpery gospel faction, she had only watched over those great points of religion in which the hearts of every sect of Christians are interested, she would have been one of the most useful and valuable writers of her day. As it is, every man would wish his wife and his children to read *Cœlebs*;—watching himself its effects;—separating the piety from the puerility;—and showing that it is very possible to be a good Christian, without degrading the human understanding to the trash and folly of Methodism.

ART. XII. *A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial circumstances of Ireland.* By Thomas Newenham, Esq. 4to. pp. 355. London. 1808.

HAD we not been prepared, by Mr Newenham's former work, to expect some valuable matter in the present, we confess that we should have been a little alarmed by the style in which the preface is written, and particularly by the manner in which the qualifications of a statesman are discussed in the opening paragraph.

He begins by observing, that, 'Under a well-established government, exempt from popular controul, an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the various circumstances of a country, on the part of those who exercise the principal functions of the state, does not appear to be indispensably necessary, when the obedience of the people is the sole or paramount object of concern. To ensure that obedience, a due proficiency in the art of government is the chief, or perhaps the only requisite. To promote the prosperity of a nation, a much more diversified knowledge than that of the mere statesman must unquestionably be attained.'

Now, we apprehend, that, in the best established governments, and those the most exempt from popular controul, a comprehen-

sive knowledge of the circumstances of the country to be governed, is indispensably necessary to enable the sovereign, or the minister who acts for him, to do his duty: nor can we attach any other idea to a due proficiency in the art of government, either in despotic or in free countries, than such a degree of knowledge as will not only insure the obedience of the subject, but tend to promote the wealth, power and happiness of the state. The great advantage of a free country does not consist in its requiring higher qualities in its governors, but in its being better secured against their bad qualities;—in being better fenced against the folly or wickedness of a sovereign,—and having better means of removing a foolish or wicked minister.

We do not perfectly understand what Mr Newenham means by the expression *mere* statesman. We know of no situation which presents a grander and more varied field for the exercise of talents, than that of a leading statesman; and none in which a more diversified knowledge is required to enable him to do his duty. The materials which he has to work upon are so various;—he is so continually assailed by partial and individual interests in all their different combinations, that nothing but an enlarged and comprehensive view of the true state of his own and other countries—and, above all, a thorough acquaintance with the general principles by which the relative value of contrasted good and evil may be determined—can qualify him so to influence the legislative provisions of his time, and so to direct their equal execution, as to give full play to the industry of all the parts of a great empire, and allow it to develop all its energies. All this, indeed, seems so obvious, that we cannot help suspecting that Mr Newenham has here said what he did not intend,—or that the Irish idea of a statesman is different from the common one. Upon this supposition, we venture to suggest a correction, which, as it appears to us, will make the observation accord much more nearly with the author's general sentiments, and at the same time give us an opportunity of agreeing with him most cordially. We have, indeed, sometimes felt, and we think he has felt too, that 'to promote the prosperity of a nation, a much more diversified 'knowledge than is *possessed by those who at present have the* 'chief influence in state affairs, must unquestionably be attained.'

We beg the reader's pardon for detaining him so long at the threshold; and proceed without further delay to the body of the work. It is not by its style, or even its reasonings and opinions, that a publication of this kind should be judged. What we want with regard to Ireland, is a collection of well authenticated *facts*; and the author who professes to give us this, will always have a strong claim on our attention. We confess, however, that even

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in this respect, the expectations which we have formed from Mr Newenham's former publication, have been a little disappointed in going over the present. Not that it is without valuable information, which it is at all times desirable to bring before the public; but the information, on this occasion, is neither so full nor so new as we had been inclined to expect; and is, besides, clogged with a good deal of very indifferent reasoning. In justice, however, to Mr Newenham, we should state, that a part of our disappointment has almost necessarily arisen from the nature of his former subject, compared with the present. He was, we believe, the first who brought together all the facts relating to the population of Ireland, during the course of the last century. But, in treating of its natural, political and commercial circumstances, he has had, in some parts of his subject, most able precursors, particularly Arthur Young, and the two Mr Parnells.

Mr Newenham has divided his work into four parts; the first, treating "of the natural advantages which qualify Ireland for the acquisition of commercial wealth:" the second, "of the causes which frustrate the natural advantages of Ireland:" the third, "of the remote cause which eventually frustrated the natural advantages of Ireland:" and the fourth, "of the circumstances which have tended to prevent a complete fruition of the natural advantages of Ireland, since the removal of the principal causes which operated in rendering them comparatively abortive,—and of the effects resulting from these circumstances."

These divisions, the reader will see, are not very luminous and distinct; and imply at once too much of history, and too little detail of the actual circumstances of Ireland, and of the condition of the lower classes of the people, to satisfy the particular wants of the British public. In fact, the greatest share of the information of this latter kind, to be found in the work, is scattered about in the form of notes, or thrown together in the tables of the appendix, which renders these parts of the book the most valuable of the whole.

The very great advantages for commercial intercourse, particularly with the Western world, which Ireland possesses from her geographical position, are evident, from the inspection of the map; and her numerous and commodious harbours, which are represented by Mr Newenham, and we believe justly, as much superior to those of England, would enable her, under favourable auspices, to reap the full benefit of her fortunate situation. Her deeply indented coast, her extensive lakes, and the number, size, and direction of her rivers will inevitably secure to her a most excellent system of inland navigation, as soon as the capitals of individuals are sufficiently large, the profits of employing them in other ways sufficiently

ſufficiently reduced, and, above all, the quantity of goods to be carried ſufficiently conſiderable, to encourage private ſubſcriptions, and ſecure their effective application. But that this great object cannot be completed until this period arrives, is nearly certain; and how far, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, a very beneficial ſtimulus can be given to it by the Government advances recommended by Mr Newenham, may reaſonably be queſtioned, when we hear ſo much of the inveterate propenſity to jobbing, which prevails in Ireland, in the expenditure of the public money. It was no longer ago than the end of laſt March, that Sir John Newport ſtated in Parliament, that of the 500,000l. granted at the Union for the inland navigation of Ireland, only about 27,000l. had been drawn for, in the courſe of the eight years that had ſince elapſed, of which 6000l. had gone in ſalaries; ſo that the ſuperintendance of the expenditure of 21,000l. for public purpoſes, had already coſt 6000l.

The land carriage of Ireland, which is the subject to which Mr Newenham next proceeds, has been in a very good state for some time; partly owing to the excellent materials for making roads, which are almost every where at hand,—partly to their being made and repaired from funds raised by the grand juries, instead of the old plan of compulsory labour,—and partly to the use of one-horse cars, instead of heavy waggons. When any system seems to have answered the end proposed, we are naturally prejudiced in its favour. But even good roads may be purchased too dear; and we have reason to believe, that very just and well-founded complaints prevail respecting the powers of taxation possessed by these grand juries,—the partiality with which the money raised by them is expended,—and the weight and inequality of its pressure on the farmers. In answer to the first part of this complaint, which is slighty adverted to, Mr Newenham, to our utter astonishment, gravely enters into a discussion of the comparative merits of grand jurors and members of Parliament, and seems to determine that the former are as well qualified for imposing taxes as the latter. It is not necessary to refute so very strange an opinion; but being in search of facts and information, we have to complain of what we consider as a more serious offence. He has no where explained to us the manner in which the sums to be raised by the grand juries are levied. We are hardly qualified to supply this omission; but we have understood, that in some counties the assessment is made by the plough lands, and in others by the acre. These plough lands, though extremely various in their extent and quality, are all rated alike. It is scarcely credible, but we have been told from good authority, that there is one plough land in the county of Cork, containing 1360 acres, and another in

in the same county containing only 100 acres; and that these two properties pay the same sum in rates. The extreme injustice and partiality of such a system of taxation need not be insisted on. But even the assessment by the acre, which prevails, we believe, in the greater number of the counties, is in the highest degree objectionable. When a man takes land, as he always must do, according to its *quality*, it must be productive of a most unequal kind of pressure, to tax him afterwards according to its *quantity*. We are surprised that Mr Newenham should speak in so favourable a manner of these assessments. To have good roads, it cannot surely be necessary to commit acts of injustice; and the subject evidently requires legislative interference.

To the great natural richness of the soil of Ireland all writers bear strong testimony. Mr Young, who paid great attention to the subject, and will be allowed to be a competent judge of such matters, says, that, taking acre for acre over the two kingdoms, the comparison will be decidedly in favour of Ireland; and Mr Newenham produces such statements of its fertility, that it must be allowed to vie with the richest in Europe, and surpass any of which England can boast. Nor is it only that the cultivated land of Ireland is superior in its natural quality to that of England; but the parts which have hitherto been neglected are more capable of being brought into a good state, at a much less expense. Of the whole area of Ireland, consisting, according to Dr Beaufort, of 19,439,960 English acres, 13,454,375 acres are considered as cultivated and fertile land; only 1,185,585 acres as inapplicable to the sustenance of man, being the sites of lakes, rivers, roads, towns, &c.; and 4,800,000 acres, as unreclaimed, and at present comparatively unproductive land. Of this latter division, a very large portion, from its nature, situation, and the abundance of natural manures with which it is almost every where surrounded, might be easily reclaimed. It is to these tracts of desert mountains and bogs that Mr Young refers, when he says, 'Upon these lands is to be practised the most profitable husbandry in the King's dominions;' and, according to Mr Newenham, the authors of the Seventeen Statistical Surveys, lately published, speak of the condition and circumstances of these waste lands in similar terms.

Of the cultivated soil of Ireland, by far the greater portion has hitherto had to contend against the united disadvantages of want of capital, and want of skill. It is at once a proof of uncommon fertility of soil, and of excessively bad management, that ten or twelve crops of oats are not unfrequently taken, in uninterrupted succession, from the same fields; and it appears, that only two or three years are necessary to recover the large portion of arable land, of average quality, which is successively reduced

to sterility by a long and ruinous continuance of grain crops without dressing, owing to the mismanagement and poverty of the small tenantry. There is reason to believe, that such treatment would render a vast proportion of the land of England altogether useless for at least double the time.

On the whole, if we compare the present produce of the land of Ireland with what it seems easily capable of producing, it will appear to present prodigious resources for agricultural improvements; and to be destined to contribute, much more than in proportion to its size, to the funds of subsistence, and the raw materials of manufactures, raised for the use of the empire.

On the subject, however, of the causes which tend to produce a surplus quantity of food, and regulate the increase of population, Mr Newenham's ideas in this section, are not very distinct. He begins by observing justly, that men, like other animals, will multiply in proportion to their means of subsistence; yet a little further on he says, 'It is generally admitted, that the increase of 'food, though in some rich countries it actually falls short of, 'may yet be made to surpass, the greatest probable increase of 'people;' and afterwards he intimates, that if only one eighth part of the waste lands of Ireland had been cultivated, the whole supply required by England, in 1799 and 1800, might have been furnished without foreign assistance. Now, the second of these remarks seems evidently in contradiction to the first; and if the first be true, the last will be more than doubtful; as it will by no means follow, that an additional cultivation to a certain extent will occasion a proportionate excess of produce above consumption. But though we cannot admit the justice of these two last remarks, as here stated, it is still true, that a country, under certain circumstances, may continue to possess an exportable surplus of corn. In an early period of civilization and improvement, the growth of corn is carried on by farmers rather as a profitable manufacture, than as the means of subsistence. It is the nature of this manufacture to produce more food than is consumed by the persons employed in it; and the surplus will of course be sold at the best market, wherever that may be. If the country be surrounded by rich nations in want of corn, and if its other manufactures be not in a flourishing state, it will generally answer better to the farmer to sell his corn abroad than at home. In this case, the effective demand for a common manufacturing population will be comparatively inconsiderable; and the wages of labour will be such as to regulate the increase of labourers, not according to the increase of agriculture, but to the increase of agricultural employment. The means of subsistence to the population within the country will consist, not of what the country may grow,

grow, but of what this population can purchase; and, of course, the continuance of a redundant growth will in no respect invalidate the general principle, that men, like all other animals, will multiply in proportion to their means of subsistence.

Mr Newenham finishes this first part of his work with the following recapitulation, which may be produced as a useful sketch of the various subjects to which he has adverted, and a favourable specimen of his style.

'With a situation, then, so eminently favourable to foreign commerce; with a coast so free from danger, and every where presenting safer and more capacious harbours and bays than are to be found in any other country of equal extent in the world; with so many noble rivers flowing through the land in all directions,—through the richest parts of it,—through as fertile districts as any in Europe, and terminating in harbours, calculated not only by locality, but by every other requisite, for the prosecution of the most extensive traffick with every other nation under the canopy of heaven; with such vast advantages in respect of artificial navigations; with such unequalled means of bringing all the parts of the country, as it were, into contact one with another, and affording to each the varied markets of all the rest; with a climate so far removed from the extremes of heat and cold, as to permit the unhoused labourer to pursue his occupation, without danger or obstruction, throughout the year, and to insure an almost perpetual verdure to the pastures; with such an abundant supply of those minerals and fossils which are most necessary to the wellbeing of man, and on which human labour and ingenuity may be exerted with the fullest effect; with such productive fisheries, both off the coasts, and in the rivers and lakes; with a soil so luxurious and inexhaustible in many places, so fertile in most, and so capable, in all others, of being rendered, at a trifling expense, highly and permanently profitable; with a singular assemblage of all the various requisites for becoming the great emporium of the commercial world, the theatre of industry and arts, the granary of the West of Europe, and the successful rival of all other countries, antient or modern, in commercial opulence and national strength:—How has it happened, that Ireland was not long since, what the sagacious Sir William Temple affirmed she might become, "one of the richest countries in Europe?" How has it happened, that she did not long since make, what he affirmed she was capable of making, "a mighty increase of strength and revenue to the Crown of England? How did it happen, that this fair island, so profusely gifted with all the more valuable boons of nature, continued, until near the close of the last century, in a state of comparative obscurity and national poverty? How did it happen, that a spirit of industry, and a spirit of commercial enterprize, became completely extinguished among the active, quicksighted, and adventurous people of Ireland?" The solution of these questions is far from being either difficult or uninteresting. It will constitute the following part.'

Mr

Mr Newenham then proceeds to the cauſes which have hitherto fruſtrated the natural advantages of Ireland. It is of courſe impoſſible, in this place, to go through the diſguſting detail of the various commercial regulations, which, aided by the penal laws, have produced this melancholy effect. They were dictated by Engliſh traders, and were among the worſt that ever came from ſuch ſuſpicious adviſers. The natural advantages of Ireland ſeem very early to have excited an alarm in this jealous body; and even the liberality of Sir William Temple, and the knowledge of Dr Davenant yielded, after a ſhort ſtruggle, to the prevailing ſentiment.

Among the many acts dictated by this narrow ſpirit, and ſubmitted to by the ſervile parliament of Ireland, we cannot help alluding to the introduction of one, on account of its being accompanied with a circumſtance which puts the commercial intolerance of the times in a very ſtriking point of view. We wiſh we could ſay that ſuch times were now entirely over.

The progreſs of the Iriſh woollen manufactures, notwithſtanding many reſtrictions, having ſtill continued to give increaſing inquietude to the monopolizers of England, the Parliament, under the influence of the Engliſh manufacturers, reſolved to take deciſive meaſures to preclude all competition with them on the part of Ireland in foreign markets. The Engliſh Lords accordingly preſented an addreſs to William III., ſtating, 'that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapneſs of all ſorts of the neceſſaries of life, and the *goodness of materials* for making *all manner of cloth*, doth invite his ſubjects of England, with their families and ſervants, to leave their habitation to ſettle there, to the increaſe of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes his loyal ſubjects in this kingdom very apprehenſive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the ſaid manufacture here; and praying that his Majeſty would be pleaſed, in the moſt public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all his ſubjects of Ireland, that the growth and increaſe of the woollen manufacture there hath long, and will ever, be looked upon with great jealouſy by all his ſubjects of this kingdom.' A ſimilar addreſs was preſented by the Commons; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay in anſwer, '*Gentlemen, I will do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland.*'

This, it will be obſerved, was the anſwer of the moſt liberal and enlightened prince of his age; and was ſpoken, not of an enemy's country, as from the language one might naturally ſuppoſe, nor even of a diſtant colony likely to be ſeparated from the parent ſtate,—but of a part of the dominions of the crown of England, ſo ſituated, that its loſs would at all times endanger the ſafe-

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ty of the whole, and every acceſſion to the wealth, ſtrength and happineſs of which, ſhould therefore always be conſidered as an acceſſion to the wealth, ſtrength and ſecurity of Great Britain. It was in this manner that, even without the plea of religious animoſity, the intereſt of the Britiſh and Iriſh conſumers, involving the whole population of the two countries, was ſacrificed to a few Engliſh traders; and the woollen manufacture, for which Ireland poſſeſſed great facilities, was thus, *by particular deſire*, completely cruſhed. The ſame ſyſtem was uniformly purſued; and the monopolizers of England alone liſtened to, not only with regard to many other manufactures peculiarly ſuited to Ireland, but even with regard to the raw produce of its land, and its trade in proviſions. The poor reſource of a poor country in the neighbourhood of a rich one, was denied to it; and by the 18th of Charles II., which was not repealed till the reign of George III., the importation into England of great cattle, ſheep and ſwine, beef, pork, and bacon, and, ſhortly after, of mutton, lamb, butter and cheeſe, was declared a common nuiſance, and forbidden on pain of forfeiture.

Hateful as religious animoſities are, their connexion with the greater paſſions renders them perhaps leſs uniformly diſguſting, than that mean and pitiful jealouſy of trade which is thus allowed to cruſh the induſtry, and repreſs the wealth, of thoſe who ought to be conſidered as friends and brothers; and there is nothing that the great intereſts of ſociety more imperiouſly call for, than the appointment of governors, who have knowledge to detect, and vigour to reſiſt, thoſe mercantile clamours, the uniform object of which is to ſacrifice the whole to a part.

In the third diviſion of his work, Mr Newenham traces thoſe acts which have benumbed the induſtry, and almoſt rendered abortive the natural advantages of Ireland, to religious animoſities;—of the riſe and progreſs of which he gives an account. We have indeed ſeen that ſome of theſe acts appear to have had another origin. But it may ſafely be aſſerted, that ſuch a ſyſtem of oppreſſion as that deſcribed by Mr Newenham, could never have been ſubmitted to by a Proteſtant parliament, and the Proteſtant part of the population of Ireland,—if their numerical feebleneſs, compared with the Catholics, and the dread of offending the Britiſh government, which was to aſſiſt them in oppreſſing and keeping down ſo large a proportion of their countrymen, had not paralyzed all reſiſtance. But,

> ——' even handed juſtice
> Returned the ingredients of their poiſoned chalice
> To their own lips.'

The fetters which they had been forging for others, neceſſarily ſhackled their own advances. The eſtates of the rich Proteſtants felt

felt the want of a free vent for their produce, as well as the farms of the poor Catholics. Time brought to their conviction, that, by a daſtardly, ſervile and uſeleſs compromiſe, they had ſacrificed their own wealth and honour by ſacrificing their country: and this conviction, joined to the very critical ſituation of Great Britain, which at once made her unable to aſſiſt the dominant party in Ireland, or to puniſh their diſobedience, gave riſe to a ſpirit of conciliation between the Proteſtants and Catholics, which opened (in 1780), a new era in the hiſtory of Ireland. A few acts had indeed been previouſly paſſed by the Iriſh legiſlature, purporting to encourage the induſtry of the country, but abſolutely inefficient in their operation; and a few others had been reluctantly conceded by Great Britain on account of her preſſing wants and neceſſities, under a change in the courſe of the corn and proviſion trade; but it was not till this period that a regular ſyſtem of conceſſion was begun, which, however the event may be delayed by accidental circumſtances, *must* terminate either in *complete emancipation*, or *complete ſeparation*.

It is unnecessary to refer more particularly to the well known acts passed in favour of Ireland about this time; but it is justly observed by Mr Newenham, that 'for the liberation of their trade, and the establishment of legislative independence, Irishmen, who advert to the spirit and unanimity of the volunteers in 1779 and 1782, can scarcely fail to experience a considerable diminution of their gratitude for these boons to Britain.'—'The truth is,' (he goes on to say), 'that had it not been for want in the former case, and fear in the latter, on the part of Britain, we should, in 1800, have been in no respect better than fifty years before; and to want and fear, it is certain that many Irishmen look for such further improvements of their condition as may be necessary, rather than to liberality or sound policy, the effects whereof they have certainly not been in the habit of experiencing.'

Of all the beneficial acts which were passed by the newly independent Legislature of Ireland, there are none which seem to make so great an impression on Mr Newenham, as the corn laws. He devotes, in consequence, two sections to a digression concerning the bounties on the exportation of corn granted in the session of 1783–4, and their effects. We really believe, that, in the circumstances in which Ireland was placed, a beneficial stimulus was given to its agriculture by these regulations. Though we do not assent to the doctrine, that corn measures the value of silver; yet, in those countries in which corn is the principal food of the lower classes of society, it must be allowed to influence the value of silver. But in Ireland, where the principal food is potatoes,

potatoes, this influence cannot be felt in the same degree; and a more effective stimulus on the production of corn would of course be given by a bounty upon its exportation. We cannot however by any means agree with Mr Newenham, in attributing, as he seems to do, the greatest part of the prosperity of Ireland, since 1784, to this cause. The history which he has himself given of the commercial injustice of Great Britain, amply accounts for the low state of Irish agriculture during the greatest part of the century; and the happy period, which produced a change of measures, and abrogated the penal laws against the Catholics relating to land, accompanied, as it happened to be, by the increasing wants of Great Britain for corn, could not fail of turning a considerable quantity of fresh capital to the cultivation of the soil.

Without determining, however, how much is to be attributed to bounties, and how much to other causes, the fact seems to be certain, that the tillage of Ireland has been increasing at a very rapid rate, while the exports of its pasture products have remained undiminished, and the internal consumption of them has been daily augmented. The natural effect of a great increase of produce, is a great increase of rents. And this effect, in the case of Ireland, has been rendered more remarkable by the cooperation of other causes,—the natural fertility of the soil,—the small capitals required to work it,—the use of potatoes as the principal food of the common people,—and the absence of poor laws. Mr Young, in 1778, computed the rental of Ireland at six millions; Mr Newenham, partly from some surveys, the results of which he has given in tables in his appendix, partly from information which he says he received from various quarters, and partly, as we conceive, from conjecture, states the present rental at fifteen millions, exclusive of the ground rents of the houses in the different towns. This is, to be sure, a prodigious increase, though we think it highly probable that it is not overrated. It is nearly certain, that if the lands of Ireland were relet at the present moment, a larger share of the whole produce would, from the causes above mentioned, fairly belong to the landlord, than would fall to his lot in any other country of Europe. This share of the whole produce is indeed probably as large now, as it ever will be.

In the progress of improvement, the increasing capitals of the tenantry will require a larger remuneration; and though, from these increasing capitals, produce will continue to increase, and rents to rise, yet the future proportion of rent to produce may not be so great as at present.

Among the most beneficial consequences of the extension of agriculture, which Mr Newenham strangely perseveres in refer-

ring almost exclusively to Mr Foster's acts, he dwells particularly on its effects upon the Catholic population. It has contributed so much, he thinks, to increase their numbers, wealth and influence, and has connected their prosperity so closely with the general prosperity of agriculture, and the interests of the Protestant landlords, the Protestant clergy, and the Protestant manufacturers, that as they can never again be kept down as they were formerly, their daily increasing strength must ultimately obtain for them that justice which has been so long refused.

In a note to a previous section (p. 185), Mr Newenham produces some facts relating to the proportion of the Roman Catholic to the Protestant population. From some of these it appears, that not only the *proportion*, but the actual *number* of the Protestants, has diminished since the middle of the last century. This we should not have expected; and the facts stated are hardly sufficient to convince us of its truth. But there are the most obvious reasons, as we stated in a former article, why the Catholic part of the population should have been increasing much more rapidly than the Protestant part.

The endeavours which were used in former times to banish the Roman Catholics from the towns, had the effect of rendering the rural population chiefly Catholic; and it is upon this part of the people, consisting of the poorest in Ireland, that the peculiar facility of increase, occasioned by the use of potatoes, has naturally operated with the greatest force. Wherever the Protestants are situated, whether in the towns, where they are principally to be found, or in the country, they uniformly seem to consider themselves as persons belonging to a class in the community superior to that of the lower orders of the Catholics. Even the linen weavers of the North, who are probably among the poorest of the Protestants, earn, according to Mr Young, about double the wages of the labourers in husbandry, and feel so much of the pride belonging to a superior condition, that they have generally preferred emigration,* to being reduced much below their usual rank in society, although there might be little chance of their wanting the means of subsistence for their families. But the humiliated Catholic, with no rank in society to support, has sought only these means of subsistence; and finding, without much difficulty, potatoes, milk, and a hovel, he has vegetated in the country of his ancestors, and overspread the land with his descendants. If to this consideration we add a circumstance, in which all writers seem to agree, that of the great encouragement given

* According to Arthur Young, the emigrations to America, which were at one time so considerable, consisted almost exclusively of the Protestants of the North of Ireland.

given to the marriages of the Catholic poor by the parish priest, on account of his deriving a very considerable part of his revenue from them, we shall see no reason to be surprised at the increasing proportion of the Catholics to the Protestants. And there can be no doubt, that while the same causes continue to operate, this proportion will continue yearly to increase.

With respect to the general amount of the population of Ireland, Mr Newenham seems inclined to adhere to his former computations, which, he says, subsequent researches have strongly conduced to substantiate. No new statements are given on the subject in the body of the work; but, in the Appendix, some interesting statistical tables are added, which, as far as they go, and as far as they can be depended on, certainly tend to confirm his computations, and mark, in particular, a very rapid increase of population.

In the town and diocese of Cork, the proportion of Catholic births to the Catholic population, is nearly as high as 1 to 23; and of marriages to births as 1 to above 5;—both indications of early marriages, large families, and full houses. In the diocese of Ross, the survey of which, Mr Newenham says, may entirely be depended on, the number of persons to a house appeared, by enumeration, to be 6 and a small fraction; and the proportion of births to the population was as 1 to 24 and a fraction; the proportion of Catholics to Protestants as 31 to 1. Of the accuracy of the other surveys, Mr Newenham cannot speak, from his own knowledge, with so much certainty; but sees no reason to doubt them. In one of them, which relates to the diocese of Limerick, the proportion of births to deaths is stated as above 2¼ to 1; though the proportion of baptisms to the population is not so great as in the diocese of Cork, which makes the account rather doubtful. These surveys, which are unfortunately too confined as to their extent, to warrant very general inferences, were made by the Catholic clergy of the different parishes, at the request of Mr Newenham; and, besides the particulars above alluded to, contain other interesting information,—such as, the wages of labour,—the rent of land,—the number of acres cultivated, uncultivated, and barren, &c. &c. Before the enumerations relating to parochial registers were proceeded on, Mr Newenham observed to one of the superiors of the Roman Catholic clergy, by whose influence the business was pursued, that the detection of an exaggeration in any one instance, would obviously have the effect of bringing discredit on all the returns, and, consequently, that of weakening whatever reasoning might be employed in behalf of the Roman Catholics, founded upon their numerical importance. To this it was replied, that, generally speaking, the pa-

rochial Roman Catholic clergy concerned themselves but very little in political speculations; and that there existed rather more reason to apprehend, that they would underrate, than overrate, the numbers of their parishioners; as, in the latter event, they would impress their Bishop with the expediency of appointing coadjutors, who would participate in their scanty incomes, as well as in their labours.

On the whole, there seems to be no doubt of the very rapid increase of population in the Southern and Western parts of Ireland; and if Mr Newenham's former computations are in any respect exaggerated, which we have sometimes heard suggested, particularly with regard to the number of persons which he allows to a house, we think it must have arisen from his applying the proportions which he has found in the Southern and Western counties too generally to the other parts of the kingdom.

On the subject of the general condition of the Catholic labourers, we have to complain that Mr Newenham has nowhere given us sufficient information. We wished much to have the means of judging, whether the increase of tillage, and the increase of rents occasioned by it, has essentially contracted the abundance of the Irish cotter; or whether the increase of his wages, which is generally acknowledged, has as yet fully counteracted the increased price which he pays for his land. But though Mr Newenham states very distinctly, that the wages of labour in husbandry have risen, since the time of Mr Young's tour, from 6½d. to 10½d. a day, yet he has not given us, as Mr Young did, a list of prices with which to compare these earnings. We have understood, that the growing price and the market price of potatoes have hardly risen in proportion to the rise of wages; but that milk, which is almost a necessary addition to a potatoe diet, has become so scarce in the tillage districts, as to occasion a great diminution of comfort and health; and it seems to be generally agreed, that all other articles, except potatoes, have advanced in price faster than the advance of wages. It is indeed one of the radical evils of the use of potatoes, as the principal food of the lower classes, that the abundance in which they are supplied, and their consequent cheapness, by no means occasions a proportional cheapness of other commodities. On the contrary, this very abundance contributes to the high rent of land, which, of course, must tend to raise the price of the cattle, wood, or materials of manufactures which are raised upon it;—a proof, by the by, among many others, that the price of the common food of the labouring classes cannot be considered as regulating the prices of other commodities.

It is not improbable, that the scarcity of milk above alluded to, combined

combined with the increasing quantity of corn grown, from the extension of tillage, may gradually induce the Irish labourer to mix a greater quantity of oats or other corn with his potatoe diet, than has hitherto been usual; and we are convinced that such a change would, on the whole, be favourable to his general condition; but, whether any approaches to it are taking place at present, we are not informed.

We have heard from some quarters, that a decided improvement, of late years, may be observed in the dress of the peasantry, and the furniture of their cabins. From other sources we have been informed, that their general condition has been unquestionably deteriorated, by an advance of rents and prices greater than the advance in their wages. On these points, authentic information extending to the whole kingdom is much wanted; and it is a great fault in Mr Newenham's work, that he has not endeavoured more fully to supply it. We should rejoice to hear, that the check to the present rapid increase of population, which must necessarily soon take place, had begun to operate from an increasing taste for comforts and conveniences, before it was forced from the absolute want of food; but we own we have not much hope of any marked and striking change of this kind, till the Protestant and Catholic are in every respect put on a level.

On the important subject of the education of the Catholic poor, Mr Newenham has produced some information which has at once surprised and gratified us. He has asserted that, in point of literary attainments, they are far above the level of the same classes in England; and this assertion seems to be confirmed by some of the tables in his Appendix. In one of these tables, it appears that, in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross alone, there are no less than 316 parochial schools kept by Catholics; and that they are attended, during the summer, by 21,832 scholars. It is pleasing to have this information accompanied by such other statements respecting the county of Cork, as to lead us to believe that its criminal calendar is, in proportion to its population, unusually free from great crimes. The Protestant schools in Ireland, with all the aid which they have received from government, seem to be by no means in a flourishing state; and the scholars which attend them do not equal, by 6000, the number that attend the Catholic schools in the diocese of Cloyne and Ross alone.

This increased attention to education among the lower classes of the Irish, Mr Newenham attributes to the care and industry of the Catholic clergy, of whose general conduct, politeness, erudition, and pastoral exertions as a body, he speaks in the highest terms. How far he may be unduly biassed by the civilities which he appears to have received from them, we will not pretend to say;

but if we might in any respect judge of them, by a letter which he has produced in the Appendix, we should think that his picture was by no means overcharged. This letter, which gives an account of the present state of the Catholic church, and Catholic clergy, in Ireland, which is very little known in England, we particularly recommend to the reader's attention; and we should insert the whole of it, if it were not too long for our limits. We earnestly wish that Mr Perceval would attend to those parts of this letter which relate to the causes which have affected, and may be expected to affect, the influence of the Catholic clergy in Ireland over their flocks.

The last division of Mr Newenham's work, consisting of eight sections, contains the Rebellion, the Union, and a great deal of miscellaneous matter which we have not room to comment upon. In his proposals for the improvement of Ireland, which occupy the three last sections, he is much too fond of public grants and bounties; and seems entirely to mistake the duty of government, which is to stand by and see fair play, and not to be actively assisting—first one party, and then another, as its caprice may direct. In the true mercantile spirit, and with a view, we imagine, to conciliate a nation of merchants, he proposes to the Legislature to give additional encouragements to the tillage of Ireland, as the occupation least likely to interfere with the manufacturers of Great Britain; and most preposterously recommends that the present high prices of corn should be maintained by fresh bounties, even after the surplus of Ireland should exceed the supply required by Great Britain, in order that the Irish farmers should gain fifteen millions for further improvements! It is unnecessary, we hope, to comment upon such proposals. To act under the dread of interfering with Great Britain, is directly contrary to the spirit of the Union; and to propose encouragements to the exportation of corn, with high prices and profits for their ultimate object, instead of plenty, is a gross abuse even of the system of bounties.

We are friends to the agriculture of Ireland; but should propose to encourage it with other views, and in other ways. Among the grievances which are felt by the small tenantry, none press so hard, nor give occasion to such constant irritation, as the unexpected demands so frequently occasioned by new county rates, and new valuations of tithe. The insurrections of the *Oak Boys* and *Steel Boys*, according to Arthur Young, were owing, in a considerable degree, to oppressive county cesses; and it is well known, that the long-protracted commotions of the White Boys, originated in the grievance of tithes. It may be asserted as a general truth, that the taxes which fall on the tenantry of a country,

country, are, of all others, the most prejudicial to the individual, and the most disadvantageous to the public; because the tenant of land has rarely the power, like other traders, of raising the price of the produce in which he deals, in proportion to the tax,—or of resorting to the alternative of withdrawing his capital; and if he had this power, the public would most materially suffer from it. But this truth, which is not sufficiently attended to in general, applies with peculiar force to the state of Ireland, on account of the extreme poverty of a large portion of the tenants. The competition for land, and the improvidence of the competitors, seem to be such, that they are willing to take farms, if they have but a tolerable prospect of getting on, under the existing outgoings at the time of taking the lease; and in such circumstances, a new demand must often find them absolutely unable to answer it. The very great proportion of the whole produce possessed by the Irish landlord, contrasted with the very scanty proportion possessed by his tenants, presents, we conceive, the natural remedy to this evil. And if he were obliged to take the burden of all permanent taxes on the land, upon their first imposition, we are convinced that he would be amply remunerated, not only by the happiness of his tenants, but by the superior state of his farms when they came to be relet, and the consequent greater advance of his rents.

The sacrifice, it is evident, would only be temporary,—as it is universally acknowledged, that all taxes upon tenants fall upon the landlord at the renewal of a lease; but the misfortune is, that a pressure during a few years, which would scarcely be felt by a man of property, is sometimes sufficient, in Ireland, to ruin both the farmer and the farm, and to spread dissatisfaction and irritation far and wide over the country.

We are no advocates for the territorial tax of the Economists; but we certainly think, that the peculiar state of Ireland calls upon the Legislature, by every principle of justice and policy, to remove the burden of the partial and oppressive county rates, and the still heavier and more oppressive burden of tithes, from the poor tenantry, to the rich landlords. Such a measure would be an effective and permanent encouragement to agriculture; and would go further in allaying the discontents of Ireland, than any thing short of complete emancipation,—which, at all events, it ought to accompany.

The tables in the Appendix, relating to the corn trade of Ireland, exhibit a very promising picture of its increasing exports, and explain in great measure the cause of the decreasing wants of the empire for foreign corn. According to *Chalmers's estimate*, the annual importation of all sorts of corn, for the five years previous

to the ſcarcity of 1800, was 1,191,131 quarters. In the committee on diſtilleries, the foreign corn imported during five years ending with the 5th of January 1808, was calculated at only 700,000 quarters annually. This beneficial change has undoubtedly ariſen, in part, from the ſtimulus given to Britiſh agriculture by the late high prices; but by far the greater part will be found to be attributable to the increaſing ſupplies of corn from Ireland, and the circumſtance of Iriſh corn being included in the foreign imports before the Union. During the laſt year, Ireland exported 875,096 barrels of corn, (about 540,000 quarters), nearly the whole of which came to Britain. If this quantity be added to the 700,000 quarters of foreign corn at preſent imported, the amount will exceed the average importations of the five years before the ſcarcity, and ſhow clearly in what manner the change in queſtion has ariſen. There can be little doubt, from the progreſſive ſtate of the Iriſh exports of corn, that if things remain quiet ſome years, the empire will be entirely independent of foreign ſupplies, except in times of ſcarcity; and for this independence it will be indebted to Ireland.

In our review of Mr Newenham's former work, we obſerved, that if England were to chooſe a territory calculated to afford her the moſt effectual aſſiſtance, ſhe could not have fixed upon a portion of land of the ſame extent, ſo peculiarly ſuited to her wants as Ireland. We were then alluding principally to the defence of the empire; but the ſame thought forces itſelf upon us when we advert to its reſources; and it is impoſſible to contemplate the immenſe ſupplies of the very firſt importance, which we receive from this fruitful iſland, and their prodigious capability of increaſe, without feeling the conviction that it ſhould ever be prized and cheriſhed by us as our richeſt mine of wealth, as well as our ſtrongeſt pillar of defence.

And yet this is the country the loſs of which is daily riſked by the inhuman cry of no popery,—by the bigotry and littleneſs of one part of an adminiſtration, and by the tergiverſation and inconſiſtency of the other. It is really ſickening to think, that at a period when every heart and hand is wanted to rally round the laſt remains of liberty in Europe, a ſet of men ſhould be found at the head of affairs, who are either abſolutely incapable, from narrowneſs of intellect, of profiting by the great leſſons of experience that are daily unfolding themſelves; or, whatever their opinions may be, are willing to ſacrifice them and their country at the ſhrine of preſent place and emolument!

We have all juſtly reprobated the impolicy of the Supreme Junta of Spain, in not anticipating the offers of Bonaparte; and in leaving it a matter of rational doubt to the people, whether it might

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not be for their happineſs to accept them. But in ſpite of the glaring bad effects of ſuch conduct on the fateful ſtruggle in Spain, are we not acting with infinitely greater folly and feebleneſs towards a part of our own empire? Are we not even, by repeated inſults and diſappointments, taking the moſt effectual means to alienate, diſguſt, and irritate a people who will ſoon have the ſame offers made to them from the ſame quarter? The blaze of hope and of joy which lately illumined the horizon of Spain, is now ſunk into a few feeble gleams; the impending effort of Auſtria ſeems to be but the prelude to her final extinction; and what ſhall then prevent the ruthleſs victor from turning his conquering arms towards the weſt? We own that we ſhould ſee with dread even a very ſmall French army in Ireland, after the councils of the empire had been for ſome time guided by the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer,—by a man, who thinks he can ſave Ireland by irritating its clergy, and being ſparing in his grants to the College of Maynooth.

There is one, and one only way, of rendering all the offers and efforts of Bonaparte powerleſs. The time is ſhort; but it may yet be ſufficient. Before the conquering legions of France return from the Danube, let us, by a great and generous act, prepare the hearts of the Iriſh for their reception. Let the reign of George III. be diſtinguiſhed by the glorious completion of thoſe conceſſions which it commenced. Let the Iriſh Catholics have all that they have demanded; for they have aſked nothing but what ſtrict juſtice and good policy ſhould concede to them. Let them not only enjoy all the civil advantages of the Britiſh conſtitution, but give them a church eſtabliſhment, like Scotland; and we venture to predict, that the increaſing proportion of the Catholics will ſoon be leſs perceptible. Let the ſpirit of the Union, or what ought to have been its ſpirit, be carried into execution without fear or jealouſy, till Ireland is in no reſpect to be diſtinguiſhed from any other part of the empire, but by its ſituation, and ſuperior fertility.

Such a train of meaſures, begun by the Government with earneſtneſs and good faith, and while yet the power of the ſword is in its hand, would ſoon work a change in the feelings of men who are known to be highly ſuſceptible of gratitude and affection, and who could receive no ſuch offers from other quarters; and though we will not affirm that all the diſcontented would be immediately conciliated, yet we are confident that they would be reduced to ſo few as to be perfectly inſignificant, and that the country would then be completely ſecure againſt foreign invaſion or domeſtic treaſon. Notwithſtanding the known capriciouſneſs and perverſeneſs of man, we believe that not a ſingle inſtance can be produced in hiſtory, of an eſtabliſhed government being unable to ſuppreſs diſcontents, when juſtice was clearly and entirely on its ſide.

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In the preſent wreck of empires, and under the extinction of all international law, no *ſmall* ſtate can hope to maintain its independence. Great Britain and Ireland, from their ſituation, their language, and their mutual neceſſities, ſeem naturally deſtined to ſupport each other's ſtrength, and ſupply each other's wants; and we are quite convinced, that nothing but extreme miſgovernment can ſeparate them. Heavy indeed, then, will be the reſponſibility of thoſe men, under whoſe adminiſtration, or by whoſe previous unconciliatory meaſures ſuch a ſeparation is effected—whether the immediate cauſe of it be foreign conqueſt, or internal commotion.

ART. XIII. *Travelling Sketches in Ruſſia and Sweden during the Years* 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808. By Robert Ker Porter. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 611. Phillips. London.

WHEN a perſon of moderate abilities and limited information is betrayed, in an unlucky hour, into an act of ordinary authorſhip, we do not conceive ourſelves bound to take any notice of it. The book moſt probably contains nothing which calls for public cenſure; and it is ſtill leſs likely to reward us with matter fit for extract or abridgement. But it is otherwiſe, when a perſon of this deſcription travels, and tells his ſtory:—he can ſcarcely avoid ſetting down ſomething worthy of our attention; and we have accordingly made it a rule, to examine, with ſome pains, almoſt every work of this claſs,—noting the defects, and ſeparating and preſerving the uſeful parts, even though they ſhould be as two grains of wheat in a buſhel of chaff. In purſuance of this plan, we are now to make our readers acquainted with Mr Ker Porter. He has been long known, we preſume, to moſt of them, as a very ingenious artiſt: in this book, he does not increaſe, nor indeed ſuſtain, that reputation; nor does he add to it any conſiderable portion of literary fame, although he entitles himſelf to the much higher praiſe of amiable feelings.

The preface to a book generally contains the author's opinion of its defects; and this is pretty ſure to be one of the moſt erroneous of all his poſitions. Mr Ker Porter points out 'continual egotiſm, an appearance of oſtentation, and perhaps a too unreſerved diſcloſure of his own ſituation and feelings,' as his moſt 'prominent imperfections.' We certainly cannot altogether acquit him of theſe faults: but, that they bear any proportion to the whole defects of his work, or that, in a book of travels, they deſerve to be ſeriouſly conſidered, unleſs where other and greater failings are not diſcoverable, we muſt take the liberty of denying.

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We wish Mr Ker Porter had looked somewhat sharper after such failings: if he had corrected them, his book would have been improved; but if he had only noticed them in his preface, a good deal of trouble might have been spared to us.

Our author sailed from England in August 1805, and had a favourable passage to the Sound. As he approached Elsineur, he was occupied with the most wild and interesting meditations upon 'a city immortalized by the pen of our matchless Shakspeare.' He had been following Hamlet every where; he had proceeded to 'measure the deep shadows on the platform;' he had then 'encountered the grey ghost of the royal Dane;' and 'killed Polonius in the Queen's closet;' besides 'drowning poor Ophelia in the willowed stream.' Upon landing, however, he gets angry at Elsineur for falling so far short of his imaginations; and abuses that respectable town, at great length, and with considerable variety and force of invective. Notwithstanding the existing hostilities, we scarcely think it would be fair to extract the whole of this highly wrought passage. We may just, by way of specimen, mention, that it seems 'Wapping possesses the splendour of ancient Rome, when compared with the modern aspect of Elsineur;' and if Hercules, or, as our author calls him, 'the immortal scavenger of Elis, had began (*begun*) there, he would be at his labour now.' Disgusted with Elsineur, and, as it should seem, with life itself, he rushes out of the town about a mile, and finds a place called 'Hamlet's garden.' He straightway expects 'venerable and magnificent ruins; and, being disappointed, severely reprimands this villa. During his rebuke, he happens to see Elsineur again, at some distance, whereupon a little more abuse is bestowed upon it; nor can he by any means be appeased, until he perceives the Castle of Cronberg, that 'fine and bold feature,' and four hundred sail of merchant ships lying at anchor. Thus disappointed in all his hopes of finding royal cities and ruins, and seeing indeed no remains of Hamlet whatever, he is forced to console himself with Saxo-Grammaticus, from whom he translates some passages, to which Shakspeare seems to have been indebted. They are curious, though not very delicate: but one does not quite see why that author, as well as Shakspeare, could not have been perused in England. Mr Ker Porter saw also some Danish soldiers, of whom he expresses an unfavourable opinion; being moved thereto, it rather seems, by 'their coarse and ill-made clothing;' and somewhat prejudiced, no doubt, by his general indignation at Elsineur. As soon as he leaves that ill-fated spot, his good humour returns; and during the rest of his tour, we find him a perfectly civil and well-natured companion.

He only saw Copenhagen through a glass from the sea; but he could

could plainly diſtinguiſh its ramparts and batteries; which leads him to relate an anecdote of Lord Nelſon. This, we have reaſon to believe, is well founded, and therefore we ſhall extract it, although not very well told; for it is exceedingly delightful to dwell on any memorial of ſo illuſtrious a man, now that we have unhappily loſt him; and it is not ungrateful to look back upon the lawful triumphs of our arms in theſe times, when the rulers of England only fought honourably with avowed enemies.

'The circumſtance took place during the battle of the Sound. It at leaſt proves that no ſituation, however dangerous, can diſconcert the truly brave man, or render him inattentive to thoſe minutiæ, which being watched by the enemy, betray our weakneſs, or proclaim our power. You muſt well remember, from the gazettes of that period, and private accounts, how tremendous was the engagement, and how dreadful the ſlaughter. In the midſt of theſe horrors, ſurrounded by the dying and the dead, the Britiſh admiral ordered an officer, bearing a flag of truce, to go on ſhore with a note to the Crown Prince. It contained a propoſal to his Royal Highneſs to acquieſce, without further delay, in the propoſitions of the Britiſh Government; not only to put a ſtop to the preſent effuſion of blood on both ſides, but to ſave from total deſtruction Copenhagen and its arſenals, which he would otherwiſe level with the water. Whilſt his Lordſhip was writing with all the calmneſs of a man in his ſtudy, he deſired Colonel Stewart to ſend ſome one below for a light, that he might ſeal his diſpatch. Colonel Stewart obeyed; but none appearing with a candle; when Lord Nelſon had nearly completed his letter, he inquired the reaſon of ſuch neglect, and found that the boy who had been ſent for it was killed in his way by a cannon ſhot. The order was repeated: upon which Colonel Stewart obſerved, "Why ſhould your Lordſhip be ſo particular to uſe wax? why not a waſer? The hurry of battle will be a ſufficient apology for the violation of etiquette." "It is to prove, my friend," replied Lord Nelſon, "that we are in no hurry; that this requeſt is not dictated by fear, or a wiſh on our part to ſtop the carnage, from the leaſt apprehenſion of the fate of this day to us, that I am thus particular. Were I to ſeal my letter with a waſer, it would ſtill be wet when it reached the ſhore; it would ſpeak of haſte. Wax is not the act of an inſtant; and it impreſſes the receiver accordingly." The reaſoning of the admiral was duly honoured by the reſult. The Danes acceded to his propoſal; and a ceſſation of hoſtilities was the conſequence.' I. 13, 14.

From Zealand our author proceeded in his voyage to Cronſtadt. On landing there, he 'was amazingly ſtruck by the extraordinary appearance of almoſt every individual he met.' The beards, brown ſkins, caps, uniforms, peliſſes, all burſting upon his ſight at the moment that he heard a language quite new to him, 'made ſo ſtrange an impreſſion on his mind as is not to be deſcribed.'

deſcribed.' Indeed he ſays, 'every ſenſe was called forth to wonder and exerciſe.' The town and arſenal of Cronſtadt are deſcribed as very beautiful and magnificent at firſt glance; but a nearer view, it ſeems, diſcovers 'many a wart and wrinkle on this fair face.' With St Peterſburgh he is more delighted: there, every houſe ſeems a palace, and every palace a city.' The deſcription of the new metropolitan church is intereſting, both on account of the work itſelf, and the example which it affords of the waſte of labour in a country where the lower claſſes are in a ſtate of ſlavery or villenage.

'This edifice, as I before ſaid, is dedicated to *the Mother of God of Kazan.* Though far from being completed, ſufficient is elevated of its plan to give a tolerably accurate idea of the ſublime feature it will make in the face of this city. The architect, who is a Ruſſian, ſeems to have had the image of St Peter in his mind when he laid the foundations of this building; and if it be finiſhed as it is begun, I have no doubt of its being a very powerful rival to the two great cathedrals of Rome and London. The pillars intended for the inſide of the church, are to be each of one entire ſtone; the ſhaft, in length fifty-two feet, poliſhed to the utmoſt perfection, and ſurmounted with a capital of the Corinthian order richly gilt and burniſhed. Every other ornament will be in corresponding taſte. Niches are formed on the exterior, for the reception of bronze ſtatues of Saints, fifteen feet high: and at ſome diſtance, in front of the building, is to be erected a ſingle column of granite of two hundred feet in length; a piece of that ſize, ſufficient to form it, having lately been diſcovered. Its magnitude will be ſo immenſe as to exceed the height of Pompey's pillar by many feet. It is expected that in the courſe of four or five years the whole work will be completed. At that period the old church is to be pulled down; and thus an area will be left that muſt conſiderably improve the ſituation of the new.

'The architect of this great deſign was formerly a ſlave of Count Strogonoff. But that nobleman, out of reſpect to his talents, gave him his liberty.

'Many of the labourers employed on theſe buildings, come ſome thouſand verſts from the interior: and when the froſt ſets in, they retire thither again, to await the more genial ſeaſon which will allow them to recommence their toil. The multitudes now engaged in forming the various parts of theſe large works, are intereſting and curious. All difficulties connected with their buſineſs, are overcome by human exertions alone. What in England would eaſily be performed by one horſe, with a little mechanical aid, is here achieved by the united ſtrength of numbers of men. Hence there is much uſeleſs labour to regret. Frequently we ſee a hundred men, with ropes and handſpikes, buſied in accompliſhing no more than one quarter of that number, with a few of our aſſiſting inventions, would eaſily finiſh in half the time.' I. 20, 21.

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In giving this extract, we have left out a little rant about ſacrilege and genius, which occurs about the middle of it. We cannot, however, omit an exquiſite paſſage touching avarice, which catches the eye a few pages further on; and forms, we conceive, as pure a ſpecimen of the nonſenſical in compoſition as has even of late years been produced. After inveighing againſt the Ruſſian ſhopkeepers for demanding from ſtrangers more than the value of their goods, although willing to take a fair price from thoſe who know their ways, Mr Porter breaks out as follows.

'But alas! I fear the paſſion for a haſty accumulation of riches is not peculiar to our northern neighbours. In an ignorant people, juſt emerging to civilization, we ſee covetouſneſs without a veil. Eager to ſhare in the good things which are opened to them on every ſide, they conſider not, becauſe they do not yet underſtand, the ſuperior advantages of character. But are the people who have long enjoyed the privileges of education and poliſhed ſociety, are they exempt from this degrading vice? I am afraid not. With them it is only more modeſt: aware of its own infamy, it ſlinks from ſight under various maſks, while the objects of its contractorſhips, and the tenantry of the land, are groaning under neglect and oppreſſion. Selfiſhneſs is the vice of human nature; and very difficult it is to hold it in the medium between ſavage avidity and luxurious deſires.' I. 25.

There is not a line of this which may be paſſed over; but the laſt ſentence is particularly remarkable, becauſe it conſiſts of ſo many words put together without one ſingle idea.

The deſcription of St Peterſburgh is, upon the whole, good. Mr Porter's talents as an artiſt appear in it. Indeed, he who can delineate a city on canvaſs, is pretty ſure to give a picturеſque account of it, if he will only be plain and natural; and the grandeur of the ſcene ſeems to have forced our author to ſet down many of the things that ſtruck him, as they really did ſtrike him, in ſpite of his tendency to ranting. Thus, notwithſtanding the 'caſtellated rocks'—'dank marſhes'—'tangled foreſt'—'gay parterre'—'Arcadian ſcenes'—'encolumned walls'—'Adriatic Iſles of Venice'—(as if he had ſaid, 'the Engliſh pariſhes of Yorkſhire'), which are crowded into the ſpace of a quarter of a page, we really think a perſon who has never been at St Peterſburgh, will riſe, from Mr Porter's deſcription, with a much more lively idea of the exterior of that magnificent capital, than if he peruſed all the other accounts of it put together.

On viſiting the church at the fortreſs, our author's attention was powerfully excited by the collection of ſtandards taken in battle, and of the keys of all the cities which have yielded to the Ruſſian arms. Theſe are hung up in order, and named and dated with great accuracy. Here are the keys of Iſhmael, Okzakow, Derbent,

bent, and innumerable other cities or towns of leſſer note in diſtant parts of the world. The ſtandards of Pultowa, we may preſume, blacken the air. Noir, Aleſſandria, furniſh trophies to ſwell the heap. But there is an accurſed thing in this temple, which pollutes it, and caſts the triumphs here recorded into a deadly ſhade. There are the keys of Warſaw, and the bread and ſalt rendered up with them, as a token of the deſtruction of Poland. There is ſomething awful, at the preſent moment, in this part of the picture. It teaches us why Iſhmael was in vain deluged with blood—why Derbent was thrice conquered to no purpoſe—why the arms of Ruſſia have ſwept over the Eaſt and the South, without increaſing her ſecurity—why, after ſtrangling Sweden in her cradle, ſhe has no ſtrength in her riper years—why her victories over France are forgotten, and the country of Suwaroff receives the law from Paris. Thoſe ſymbols are, indeed, memorials of a triumph;—they record a triumph over public virtue—over the faith of treaties—over the rights of nations;—a triumph which was never equalled, not even in Switzerland, or at Copenhagen—until the invaſion of Spain, ſurpaſſing all former crimes, made us almoſt forget the partition of Poland.

We ſhall paſs over a great maſs of deſcription, mixed up with trifling anecdotes, ſomewhat in the manner of Sir John Carr, to whoſe '*elegant* works,' indeed, Mr Porter refers. We ſay nothing of the account of the Greek church, too—a ſubject very little adapted to ſuch ſuperficial writers as this author; and we quickly turn over two pages of rant, or rather downright raving, upon Lord Nelſon's death, ſenſible how painful it muſt be to the feelings of our readers, even to notice this traſh for the purpoſe of reproving it. But we muſt follow Mr Porter to court; for, among other boaſts, we remember to have ſeen, in the newſpaper advertiſements, mention made of 'his *accredited* reception at the reſpective courts.' This is obviouſly intended as a hint, that he was entruſted with ſome miſſion, though he is much too prudent to let the ſecret out in his book. We wonder what could be the nature of this embaſſage? Was he perchance ſent to rouſe the continental powers at the beginning of the third coalition? The dates correſpond very well with this idea; for he went abroad juſt before the war broke out. His talents, too, ſeem of the caſt not unuſually employed by our cabinet on ſuch ſervices. His knowledge of languages, of French particularly, points him out as very likely to have been pitched upon. (See Vol. I. p. 130.—'*Les chamberlains actuel.*') He further reſembles ſome of our moſt profound ſtateſmen in an eloquent and happy coinage of words, *e. g.* to *olfac*, for to *ſtink*. When all theſe qualifications are taken into the account, we ſhall probably feel diſpoſed to believe the inſinuation of

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the advertisement, although Mr Porter is sufficiently diplomatic to keep his own secret; except, indeed, where he finds it quite impossible, as any equally happy man must have done, to suppress the information, that, 'to the fair hand of the Dowager Empress, he is indebted for a diamond, which, in devotion to her virtues, he shall ever wear next his heart.' I. 149.

It is needless to add, that this Empress is among his chief favourites. 'The Dowager Empress,' says he, 'who is of a Pallas form and mien, is a most admirable woman.' Again, 'She is exquisitely accomplished; and possesses a courtesy of address that is *undescribable.*' The reigning Empress comes in for some share of his admiration; and the Emperor Alexander is pourtrayed at length. We shall extract the passage; because it brings back the remembrance of past times. The people of this country have probably forgotten, now, that they used all to venerate the Russian Emperor. Indeed, two years have not elapsed since such language as the following would have been deemed cold, and utterly inadequate to express the feelings which every one was required to entertain towards the saviour of Europe.

'I know your eagerness to become acquainted with the great of all countries: I mean the truly great; the illustrious in talents, and the illustrious in virtue: they alone have ever been the great to you; and to them, while resembling them as a brother, have you not always bowed with the humility of a son! But to return to the Emperor.

'He is mild in his demeanour, gentle in his motions, and particularly graceful in his address. The goodness of his heart shines forth in his eyes; and the sweetness of his temper ever embellishes his lip with a smile. So great is his benevolence, that not a day passes without bringing forward some instance of his attention to the welfare and comfort of his people; and his lenity in punishing criminals is so forbearing, that in all cases the most tender mercy waits upon his justice. His figure is handsome and elegant, his air affable and engaging; and his countenance ever expresses the benignity of his mind. His height is about five feet eleven inches. He is fair, with blue eyes; and his complexion, though not florid, is beaming with health, and most interestingly tinged with the hue of a military life.

'On our first presentation, according to the etiquette of this court, the Emperor passed forward, only bowing to the strangers. But after that formal ceremony was once over, at every other levee he converses with all the dignified freedom which sits so gracefully upon persons of his rank; and more particularly captivates in him, from the intelligence and amiable interest of his manners.' I. 148.

Our readers may perhaps think, that Mr Porter is somewhat romantic in his descriptions of royal personages; but we can assure them, he is a much greater enthusiast respecting tables and chairs.

chairs. The furniture of the *Hermitage* animates him in a wonderful manner, and throws him also into a violent passion at the furniture of St Cloud. The imperial inhabitants of those two palaces have not often called forth more impassioned language, than is bestowed upon their respective stools, in the following passage.

'That boasted mansion, for the perfection of which every atom of French talent has been exerted, every touch of French taste laboured and repeated, proved at last—but a large *Magazin des Meubles!* Confused and *vilely* disposed, the *infamous* fashion of never admitting two chairs alike into one room, has rendered it the most *disgustingly* expensive, and vulgarly ostentatious display of fine furniture that ever yet pretended to the name of magnificence. St Cloud is an upholsterer's shop, whence palaces may be fitted: the Hermitage is a palace ready fitted for the reception of kings.' I. 151, 152.

Just before leaving St Petersburgh, Mr Porter receives a letter from his friend, expressing wonder that 'he has not yet taken notice of the one subject in which he had always shown so particular an interest.' His friend asks, 'What has become of your attachment to the army, that you have not given me any idea of the state of its establishment in Russia?' Our author makes answer, 'It is just where it was, the first-born passion in my breast,' &c. This passion is frequently breaking out in the course of these volumes, and always leads to some *nothing* or other. In the present case, it is expended chiefly on the uniforms of the Russian troops, which are described with much tenderness and pathos. Our feelings on this topic being considerably less acute, we must be excused for not following the author very far in his effusions. We prefer the passage with which he concludes this letter; because it is upon a perfectly different subject, and written too by another hand.

'I have not been very profuse in my remarks on national character, because, I think I might as well decide on the general effect of a statue, by seeing only its leg or arm, as write confidently of the Russian manners, when I have penetrated no further than this city. Indeed, I know of no study so uncertain as that of individuals; and it is by a number of individuals that we judge of a people: and where we find it so difficult to gain a true knowledge of our own characters, we ought not to consider the task so easy to comprehend that of others. Some persons have a happy facility in seizing the characteristic points of a nation: and none was more eminently gifted with this power than Peter the First. I will transcribe a specimen; and instead of receiving the poor pittance of my opinion on one country, you shall be enriched with the judgment of so great an Emperor on several. It was his estimation of the foreigners whom he encouraged to come to his new capital.

" You may give to a Frenchman (says he) liberal pay: he never amasses money, and loves pleasure. The case nearly answers to the German; only he spends what he labours for in good-living, not on the gay vanities of the Frenchman. To an Englishman more must be given: he will enjoy himself at any rate; should he even call in to his aid his own credit. A Dutchman rarely eats enough to pacify nature: his sole object is economy; less, consequently, will serve him. An Italian is by nature inoculated with parsimony: a trifle, therefore, will do for him: almost out of nothing he will contrive to save; making no mystery of it, but acknowledging that he serves from home with no other view than to amass money to enable him to return with affluence to the heaven of Europe, his own dear Italy." I. p. 173, 174.

From St Petersburgh, Mr Porter set out in the depth of winter for Moscow. This journey presents us with one or two passages worthy of notice. The first is a good description of the dreariness of a Russian landscape at that season.

'Nothing interesting presenting itself, we travelled onwards, through towns and villages, and over a dreary country, rendered ten thousand times more so by the season. All around was a vast wintry flat: and frequently not a vestige of man or of cultivation was seen, not even a solitary tree, to break the boundless expanse of snow. Indeed no idea can be formed of the immense plains we traversed, unless you imagine yourself at sea, far, far from the sight of land. The Arabian deserts cannot be more awful to the eye, than the appearance of this scene. Such is the general aspect of the country during the rigours of winter; with now and then an exception of a large forest skirting the horizon for a considerable length of way. At intervals, as you shoot along, you see openings amongst its lofty trees, from which emerge picturesque groups of natives and their one-horse sledges, whereon are placed the different articles of commerce, going to various parts of this empire. They travel in vast numbers, and from all quarters, seldom fewer than one hundred and fifty in a string, having a driver to every seventh horse. The effect of this cavalcade at a distance is very curious; and in a morning, as they advance towards you, the scene is as beautiful as striking. The sun then rising, throws his rays across the snow, transforming it to the sight into a surface of diamonds. From the cold of the night, every man and horse is encrusted with these frosty particles; and, the beams falling on them too, seem to cover their rude faces and rugged habits with a tissue of the most dazzling brilliants. The manes of the horses, and the long beards of the men, from the quantity of congealed breath, have a particularly glittering effect.' I. 179.

The next is a specimen of Russian truck and barter; which we recommend to the attention of all those profound reasoners, who undervalue the blessings of liberty, and are unwilling to allow that it makes any considerable difference in the human character. We submit

submit this anecdote also as affording a presumption of how little can be reasonably expected from the resources of the Russian empire in any immediate contest with more civilized monarchies.

'Twer is a place of considerable commerce, owing to its situation on the conflux of two such advantageous rivers. And perhaps on this account we found a very good inn, which was no trifling comfort; though we were detained, and imposed on too, by the clumsiness and roguery of the host. Our unlucky barouche, after a variety of disasters in its journey, here broke fairly down; and thus proved the folly of making use, in these regions, of any carriage that is not adapted to the roads and horses of the country. After much bungling we at length got the vehicle mounted on its skates; and I inquired of the landlord his demand for the share he had in the repairs; he coolly asked *thirty rubles!* So exorbitant a charge occasioned me to remonstrate: at this moment my servant came up (an honest Russ, who some time before had been made free); he inquired what was the matter. I told him the extortion of the man, and that I wanted to beat him down. "I'll beat him down!" cried he, catching the poor wretch by the beard; and laying upon his shoulders, with all his might, an immense bludgeon large enough to be called a club. As the terrified host swung round at the arm's length of my doughty champion, the blows fell like hail upon his back, while he kept bawling out: "twenty, fifteen, ten, &c." till he reduced his demand to the more reasonable sum of two rubles. On this cry, like the last bidding at an auction, the appraiser was satisfied, and the hammer fell. The poor battered wretch was released; and bowing with a grateful air to his chastiser, turned to me. Almost killed with laughing at so extraordinary a sight, I paid him his rubles. I was no less amused at the stupid indifference with which the standers by regarded the whole transaction; and got into the kabitka to pursue our journey, debating with myself whether the frequent drubbings these slaves endure, really reduces their flesh to the consistence of stockfish; or whether the friendly sheeps-skins on their backs do not blunt the force of blows, which otherwise threaten not only bruises but broken bones. The bow he made to my triumphant valet entertained me as much as any thing; and as we drove off, he repeated his *obeisances* with as much respect as if we had given him a hundred ducats, instead of a few rubles and a drubbing into the bargain. I. 183, 184.

Mr Porter's residence at Moscow gives him an opportunity of describing the manners and habits of the genuine Russian nobility. At St Petersburgh, they are somewhat civilized—at least they partake of foreign fashions, and conform externally to the usages of polished life. In their own capital of Moscow, we have them living in the barbarous pomp which belongs to their wealth, and to that stage of society. Our author, however, is not of this opinion: he expresses some indignation at those who reckon ex-

cessive hospitality among the symptoms of barbarism; protesting, that 'he never saw, in any part of the world, such general polish of manners as in this city.' We shall only justify the charge, by quoting from Mr Porter himself, a very lively and curious account of certain '*frisks of nature*,' as he is pleased to call them, which the highly polished nobles of Moscow exhibit in their houses;—these are dwarfs and fools. In the account of the former, we omit a ranting eulogium upon Nature for having made so few female dwarfs.

'They are here the pages and the playthings of the great; and, at almost all entertainments, stand for hours by their lord's chair, holding his snuff-box, or awaiting his commands. There is scarcely a nobleman in this country who is not possessed of one or more of these frisks of nature; but, in their selection, I cannot say that the *noblesse* display their gallantry, as they choose none but males.

'These little beings are generally the gayest drest persons in the service of their lord, and are attired in a uniform or livery of very costly materials. In the presence of their owner, their usual station is at his elbow, in the character of a page; and, during his absence, they are then responsible for the cleanliness and combed locks of their companions of the canine species.

'Besides these lilliputians, many of the nobility keep a fool or two, like the *motleys* of our court in the days of Elizabeth; but like in name alone; for their wit, if they ever had any, is swallowed up by indolence. Savoury sauce and rich repasts swell their bodies to the most disgusting size; and, lying about in the corners of some splendid saloon, they sleep profoundly, till awakened by the command of their lord to amuse the company. Shaking their enormous bulk, they rise from their trance; and, supporting their unwieldy trunks against the wall, drawl out their heavy nonsense, with as much grace as the motions of a sloth in the hands of a reptile-fancier. One glance was sufficient for me of these imbruted creatures; and, with something like pleasure, I turned from them to the less humiliating view of human nature in the dwarf.

'The race of these unfortunates is very diminutive in Russia, and very numerous. They are generally well shaped, and their hands and feet particularly graceful. Indeed, in the proportion of their figures, we should no where discover them to be flaws in the economy of nature, were it not for a peculiarity of feature, and the size of the head, which is commonly exceedingly enlarged. Take them on the whole, they are such compact, and even pretty little beings, that no idea can be formed of them from the clumsy deformed dwarfs which are exhibited at our fairs in England. I cannot say that we need envy Russia this part of her offspring. It is very curious to observe how nearly they resemble each other: their features are all so alike, that you might easily imagine that one pair had spread their progeny over the whole country.' I. 193—195.

The author then gives some anecdotes of dwarfs of his acquaintance;

quaintance; as the governor of Moscow's dwarf, 'whose features and *expression* have an appearance to the eye as if he washed his face with alum-water.' Mr Porter candidly admits, that it may be difficult to divine this sort of expression; but adds, that it is 'a sort of wizened, sharp look, inconceivable unless you saw it.'

Mr Porter's description of Moscow is very good, and deserves nearly the same commendations which we offered to his account of St Petersburgh. His rhapsodies (especially a long one about kissing) occasionally interrupt it; and, to accuracy of style, he has no sort of pretension: but we should be glad to see other cities described in as lively and distinct a manner, by one evidently accustomed to represent objects with his pencil. His return to St Petersburgh is agreeably diversified with anecdotes of the scrapes into which he was led by an Italian adventurer who fastened upon him, and a description of the magnificent monastery at Voshkrashensky, and of Nichon's hermitage. A trait of barbarism is mentioned in the course of this journey, which we are willing to hope may have been exaggerated to our author. It is stated as the ordinary, and indeed constant practice among the Russian peasantry, for the young men to marry at an early age, and immediately to leave their wives under the care of their fathers, who cohabit with their daughters-in-law, while the husband is seeking his fortune in Moscow or St Petersburgh. Mr Porter assures us, that the husband, on returning with his gains, and finding a family ready made for him, only bethinks him of marrying his sons, and sending them off, as he himself had been sent, that he may 'enjoy himself, like a Turk in his seraglio, amongst their wives.' Whatever foundation there may be for this statement, we should require very strong evidence to make us believe, in its whole extent, any thing so contrary to the ordinary course of nature. It cannot, indeed, be denied, that much may be explained by the debased state of the lower orders in Russia, and their entire dependence upon their masters, whose interests, as Mr Porter has justly remarked, lead them to encourage both the temporary emigration of the master, from which great gain is derived to the estate, and the continuance or increase of their numbers. We must only suggest, that the expedient in question seems one of the least natural and obvious, as well as the most revolting, which could have been devised for accomplishing those purposes.

We shall not follow our author back to Moscow, whither he again went. He seems to have remained in Russia as long as the intercourse between that country and his own permitted; and, on the unhappy commencement of hostilities, he retired into Swe-

den. The journey through Finland, and across the Gulph, to Stockholm, presents us with nothing worthy of notice. On arriving there, our author, of course, describes the city well; and it is equally a matter of course, that he should fall in love with the court, especially the dresses, the King and the Queen. We shall give his portraits of these illustrious and unfortunate persons.

'As soon as the King was seated, a piece of music with, I suppose, appropriate words (for it was in Swedish), burst from the orchestra. His Majesty seemed very attentive to what was sung; while the Queen, with a less impressed countenance, sometimes listened, and at others looked round on the assembly with a delightful complacency. I confess that my observation was most particularly directed to Gustavus. He bears a striking resemblance to the best portraits of Charles the Twelfth, and seems not to neglect the addition of similar habiliments; for really, at the first glance, you might almost imagine the picture of his renowned ancestor had walked from its canvass. He is thin, though well made; about the middle stature, pale, and with eyes whose eagle beams strike with the force of lightning: look at them, and while he is in thought they appear remarkably calm and sweet; but when he looks at you and speaks, the vivacity of his manner and the brilliancy of his countenance are beyond description. His mouth is well shaped, with small mustaccios on his upper lip; and his hair, which is cropped and without powder, is combed up from his forehead.

'Her Majesty is most interestingly beautiful; very much resembling her sister the Empress of Russia. She is fair, with expressive blue eyes. Her features are fine; but the affability of her countenance, her smile, and engaging air, independently of other charms, would be sufficient to fascinate every heart almost to forget she was a Queen, in her loveliness as a woman. She was drest with exquisite taste. Her hair, in light but luxuriant tresses over her brow and head, was looped up with a double diadem of jewels. Her robe was splendidly embroidered; and on her breast she wore the badges of the order of St Catherine. And certainly it must be acknowledged, that the star, whether of distinction or of beauty, never shone brighter than on the bosom of the fair *Helen of the North;* for thus this beautiful Queen is generally distinguished; though, were I to give her a title, it should rather be that of Andromache, whose beauties, lovely as they were, were yet transcended by the more endearing graces of the chaste wife and tender mother.

'During the whole of the evening, after the musical salutation, their Majesties mingled with the company, conversing with every person with the kindest condescension. Every citizen was spoken to; and their eyes sparkled with joy, while their tongues faltered out a reply to the address of their Sovereign. His conversation with the subjects of his *brother in arms*, our revered Monarch, was of the most

most gratifying complexion; no coldness, no form; all was frank, great, and consistent with himself. In short, it would have been impossible for any potentate to have shown more graceful, knight-like courtesy to all present; or for a sovereign to be received with deeper homage from a brave and loyal people. In many courts I have seen the body of loyalty; here its spirit was felt.' II. 132–134.

Mr Porter then proceeds to express his astonishment and indignation, that any persons should be found, especially in Sweden, who are not as much enamoured as himself of the King and his mode of governing. 'Who,' says he, 'that was present at such a scene 'would believe, that some of his ungracious subjects affect to la-'ment the destiny of the state? But so it is. As in most coun-'tries parties exist, who contend for they know not what, even 'in Sweden there are a set of grumblers, troubling the govern-'ment with discontents, which, lying in themselves rather than 'in the constitution, neither king nor senate can rectify. These 'turbulent natures are the torment of every state. We may con-'sider them as inherent diseases amongst all people; a sort of 'acrimonious humour boiling from the body politic, which, as 'the evil is in human nature, must discharge itself somewhere; 'and what is more, there is no hope of the disorder being cured, 'till the final exit of the world with all its imperfections.' (II. 134.) We are not eloquent like Mr Ker Porter, so we cannot talk of diseases, and humours, and the exit of the world; but we may give a very plain solution of his difficulties, in the matter of fact. The King of Sweden, notwithstanding his high spirit, (which, by the way, was chiefly shown in imitations of Charles XII.'s dress, and in parodies upon the French bulletins), was disliked by his subjects; because, for the gratification of personal feelings, he involved his country in a war, which was necessarily expensive beyond its utmost means, and could scarcely fail to terminate in the dismemberment or subjugation of the kingdom. If Sweden had enjoyed the benefits of a free constitution, even of such a form of government as Gustavus III. abolished, but, much more, if she had possessed the inestimable treasure of such a constitution as ours, the catastrophe which has, since Mr Porter's return from the Baltic, befallen her unhappy misguided Sovereign, never could have happened. A course of misrule, supported by popular delusion, might no doubt have brought the country into difficulties: it is even possible that the caprices of the court should, for a short time, have made them persist in measures contrary both to the interest and to the wishes of the people; but this could only have lasted for a season; and, in no long time after the eyes of the people had been opened, their voice must be heard, and a change of councils, or, at the utmost, a change of counsellors, would

have prevented the necessity of any attempts upon the sacred person of the Monarch.

It may easily be conceived, that our author's enthusiasm about Charles XII. leads him to every spot where any memorial of that gallant and most pernicious ruler can be found. He tells the whole story of his assassination as minutely as if he had read the details in an extraordinary gazette, and with as little hesitation as if this were, not one of the *quæstiones vexatæ* of modern history, but a passage free from all obscurity. We shall probably expose ourselves to the charge of jacobinism (though the wish is somewhat old-fashioned, and, indeed, so little in consonance with the prevailing taste, that it can scarcely be accused of triteness), if we express a desire to hear Kings called by their proper names, and to have Charles XII. once more held up to the world as a personage, whose want of all the good principles most requisite in a Sovereign, is a great deal more evident than his madness. For a contrast to this prince, we cheerfully take Gustavus Vasa, of whom we rejoice to find, that our author has collected some anecdotes. He visited the spot in Dalecarlia, where that truly great Monarch took refuge from the Danish usurper, and concealed himself, while he matured his plan for the deliverance of his country. The following passage is exceedingly interesting, and relates the anecdotes with no small dramatic effect.

'On the little hill just mentioned, stood a very ancient habitation; of so simple an architecture, that you would have taken it for a hind's cottage, instead of a place that, in times of old, had been the abode of nobility. It consisted of a long barn-like structure, formed of fir, covered in a strange fashion with scales, and odd ornamental twistings in the carved wood. But the spot was hallowed by the virtues of its heroic mistress, who saved, by her presence of mind, the life of the future deliverer of her country. The following are the circumstances alluded to; and most of them were communicated to me under the very roof.

'Gustavus, having, by an evil accident, been discovered in the mines, and after being *narrowly betrayed* by a Swedish nobleman, bent his course towards this house, then inhabited by a gentleman of the name of Pearson (or Peterson), whom he had known in the armies of the late administrator. Here, he hoped, from the obligations he had formerly laid on the officer, that he should at least find a safe retreat. Pearson received him with every mark of friendship; nay, treated him with that respect and submission which noble minds are proud to pay to the truly great, when robbed of their external honours. He seemed more afflicted by the misfortunes of Gustavus, than that prince was *for* himself; and exclaimed with such vehemence against the Danes, that, instead of awaiting a proposal to take up arms, he offered, unasked, to try the spirit of the mountainers; and declared

declared that himself and his vassals would be the first to set an example, and turn out under the command of his beloved general.

'Gustavus was rejoiced to find that he had at last found a man who was not afraid to draw his sword in the defence of his country; and endeavoured by the most impressive arguments, and the prospect of a suitable recompense for the personal risks he ran, to confirm him in so generous a resolution. Pearson answered with repeated assurances of fidelity: he named the gentlemen and the leading persons among the peasants whom he hoped to engage in the enterprize. Gustavus relied on his word, and promising not to name himself to any while he was absent, some days afterwards saw him leave the house to put his design in execution.

'It was indeed a design, and a black one. Under the specious cloak of a zealous affection for Gustavus, the traitor was contriving his ruin. The hope of making his court to the Danish tyrant, and the expectation of a large reward, made this son of Judas resolve to sacrifice his honour to his ambition, and, for the sake of a few ducats, violate the most sacred laws of hospitality, by betraying his guest. In pursuance of that base resolution, he went straight to one of Christiern's officers commanding in the province, and informed him that Gustavus was his prisoner. Having committed this treachery, he had not courage to face his victim; and telling the Dane how to surprise the prince, who, he said, believed himself to be under the protection of a friend, (shame to manhood, to dare to confess that he could betray such a confidence!) he proposed taking a wider circuit home, while they, apparently unknown to him, rifled it of its treasure. "It will be an easy matter," said he; "for not even my wife knows that it is Gustavus."

'Accordingly the officer, at the head of a party of well-armed soldiers, marched directly to the lake. The men invested the house, while the leader, abruptly entering, found Pearson's wife, according to the fashion of those days, employed in culinary preparations. At some distance from her sat a young man in a rustic garb, lopping off the knots from the broken branch of a tree. The officer went up to her, and told her he came in King Christiern's name to demand the rebel Gustavus, who he knew was concealed under her roof. The dauntless woman never changed colour; she immediately guessed the man whom her husband had introduced as a miner's son, to be the Swedish hero. The door was blocked up by soldiers. In an instant she replied, without once glancing at Gustavus, who sat motionless with surprise, "If you mean the melancholy gentleman my husband has had here these few days, he has just walked out into the wood on the other side of the hill. Some of those soldiers may readily seize him, as he has no arms with him."

'The officer did not suspect the easy simplicity of her manner; and ordered part of the men to go in quest of him. At that moment, suddenly turning her eyes on Gustavus, she flew up to him, and catching the stick out of his hand, exclaimed, in an angry voice: "Unmannerly

" Unmannerly wretch! What, sit before your betters? Don't you see the king's officers in the room? Get out of my sight, or some of them shall give you a drubbing!" As she spoke, she struck him a blow on the back with all her strength; and opening a side door, " there, get into the scullery," cried she, " it is the fittest place for such company!" and giving him another knock, she flung the stick after him, and shut the door. " Sure," added she, in a great heat, " never woman was plagued with such a lout of a slave!"

' The officer begged she would not disturb herself on his account: but she, affecting great reverence for the king, and respect for his representative, prayed him to enter her parlour while she brought some refreshment. The Dane civilly complied; perhaps, glad enough to get from the side of a shrew; and she immediately hastened to Gustavus, whom she had bolted in, and, by means of a back passage, conducted him in a moment to a *certain little apartment*, which projecting from the side of the house close to the bank of the lake where the fishers' boats lay, she lowered him down the convenient aperture in the seat, and giving him a direction to an honest curate across the lake, committed him to Providence.' II. 198–202.

The present proprietor of the house is a descendant of this extraordinary woman; and if Mr Porter has given us accurately the tradition current in the house and neighbourhood, it amounts to no mean species of evidence for such a passage.

Our author's military ardour, to which we have already alluded, carried him to Gottenburgh, where he resolved to enter on immediate service with the English army, then, for God knows what purpose, assembled in that port. He made his arrangements for joining this force, and expected shortly to be fighting as hard as possible, either in Norway or Zealand. But the decrees of the fates, or those of our cabinet, (which, if not quite so unalterable, are to the full as mysterious), willed it otherwise,—and Mr Porter saw the transports, after waiting two months for nothing, all of a sudden set sail.—' His northern campaign being cropt in the bud, he ' hoped for a more propitious commencement on the shores of ' Spain,' and was some time on board a transport;—but being informed that they were going direct to the Spanish coast, he disembarked, in order to take England in his way, and rejoin the army when it should arrive at its destination. While he is waiting for a packet he receives the most flattering invitation from the Swedish commander in chief on the frontiers of Norway, to join his army, —with the assurance that his ' military passion shall be fully gra- ' tified.'—But ' his duty calls him to the Spanish shores;' so he ' declines the honour with gratitude,'—and sails for England.

We wish Mr Porter would employ another engraver.—His drawing used to be excellent; but the *scraping*, by means of which it is rendered to the public in these volumes, destroys its whole effect.

Nothing

Nothing can be leſs ſatisfactory or diſtinct than theſe plates.—As for any other corrections, we fear it would be in vain to ſuggeſt them.

Were we, for inſtance, only to require a little attention to grammar, or a ſomewhat leſs frequent uſe of French words in deſcribing things at Moſcow and Stockholm, where French has nothing to do; or, if French muſt be uſed, were we to ſuggeſt the propriety of ſome regard to the idiom of that language,—that he ſhould not, for example, turn the burghers or citizens of Stockholm, into *bourgeoiſes*, (II. 120.); or were we to cry out againſt ſuch words as *bathos-ical* and *alexandrinally*, and a thouſand others equally unknown in all languages, Mr Porter would forthwith tell us, 'theſe are letters to a friend, and you can't expect cold correctneſs in epiſtolary effuſions.' This would have been an excellent defence, if his friend had critiſed his ſtyle; it may alſo be a good reaſon for not publiſhing his letters: but they are now a printed book, and muſt come under the ordinary juriſdiction of criticiſm, whatever ſhape they may formerly have aſſumed, or with whatever intentions they were compoſed.

ART. XIV. *The Works of Plato, viz. his Fifty-five Dialogues, and Twelve Epiſtles, tranſlated from the Greek; Nine of the Dialogues by the late Floyer Sydenham, and the Remainder by Thomas Taylor: with occaſional Annotations on the Nine Dialogues tranſlated by Sydenham, and copious Notes by the latter Tranſlator; in which is given the Subſtance of nearly all the exiſting Greek MS. Commentaries on the Philoſophy of Plato, and a conſiderable Portion of ſuch as are already publiſhed.* 5 vol. 4to. London. 1804.

DE mortuis nil niſi bonum, is a maxim, we know, in repute; and we cannot help allowing that the metaphorical perſonage, in the ſhape of five huge quartos, on whom we are about to ſit in judgment, is entitled to the full benefit of it; for we have ſuſpended, in his caſe, the exerciſe of our judicial functions, till he is not only dead and buried, but till, we fear, the hand of oblivion has paſſed over him.

Inſtigated, however, by that propenſity, with which we are ſo hoſtilely charged, of queſtioning the pretenſions of things *eſtabliſhed*, we have committed the crime of *leſe-antiquité* in challenging the authority of this hitherto unchallenged precept. We have been daring enough, for our own uſe at leaſt, to embrace the principle of reform. Inſtead of the maxim, 'De mortuis

nil

nil nisi bonum,' *the wisdom of ancestors*, we have substituted the *new* maxim, 'Benefaction to the living, rather than superstition toward the dead.'

In the spirit of this rule we have been guided to the subject before us; for the state of classical learning, at present, in this country, is by no means such as to please us; and much good, we think, might be derived from an improvement in the plan of our Greek and Roman studies. In this northern part of the island, our system of education is arraigned by our neighbours, as defective in regard to classical instruction; and in regard to the Greek language, though not the Latin, the charge is just. By our institutions, provision is not made for teaching even the elements of the Greek to any but a very small proportion of the best disposed of the youths. In the other part of the island, however, and that the principal part, classical learning occupies an immense proportion of the field of education. In fact, it almost covers it, leaving a very scanty corner, and that cultivated by a very antiquated sort of husbandry, for any other crop. Yet it is remarkable that England has contributed very little useful service toward the promotion of classical learning. None of the lettered nations of Europe, the French, the Germans, the Italians, are so badly supplied with translations, in their own language, of the prose classics. None of them have done so little even towards the purifying of the text of the antient authors; to none of them is the lover of antient learning so little indebted for those helps which render his acquisitions easy, and his readings delightful.

This is remarkable; and well deserves the serious attention of those who deem education a business of paramount importance. In every other department,—in mathematics, in physics, in ethics, in politics, in history,—England stands perhaps the very first in the list of nations who have accelerated the progress of knowledge. In the classical department, to which the business of English education is almost wholly restricted, England appears to stand lower than any of her neighbours.

One particularity (restricted as we are by the present design from entering further into the investigation of causes) we cannot forbear drawing into view, as contributive in no small degree to this unhappy effect, and indeed to many other effects still more seriously to be deplored. What we mean, is the preposterous share of time, and labour, and esteem—a share totally disproportionate to every idea of utility—bestowed upon the comparatively unimportant business of prosody. This is the cardinal point in English education. To this every thing seems to be subservient, every thing directed. An eminent English scholar is a man profoundly skilled in Greek prosody. This is learning, *par excellence*.

cellence. The admiration bestowed upon this, surpasses all other admiration.

We are persuaded that the effect of this, upon the minds of the youth, is baneful in no ordinary degree. They must acquire a habit of looking to frivolous things. The great principle of utility is vilified and disgraced throughout the whole course of this plan of instruction. That principle, which it would be the great object of a perfect system of education to render the managing, the presiding, the governing sentiment in the breast of every member of the society, is made to disappear—that some foppery, or something little better than a foppery, may occupy its place, and be lifted up on high, as an idol for worship. Surely, of all the good things which may be learned from the Greek and Roman authors—and many are the good, the superlatively good things which may be learned from them—a knowledge of the mere technical part of their art of making verses ought to rank among the lowest. Still we deny it not a place among the good things. So far as an acquaintance with the technical structure of their verse can heighten the pleasure of reading the classical poets, so far that acquaintance is desirable; but we know no other useful purpose which it serves; nor can we regard that as a very eminent one. A familiar example may help any one to take its estimate. Of English readers, and English readers of learning and taste, how few are there who think it necessary to render themselves acquainted with the technical part of English prosody, to heighten their pleasure in reading the verses of Milton! The sentiments, the imagery, the characters, the invention, the style, the harmony, all produce their full effect on the mind, without this assistance; and when all these are fully enjoyed, the pleasure that remains behind is of little account.

To this cause we are persuaded it is, that, even among the most celebrated scholars in England, it is so rare to meet with a man who has any thing like a familiar acquaintance with the orators, the philosophers, and historians of Greece. They can repeat to you, without book, innumerable passages from the poets, and here and there have dipped into other authors. But it is scarcely once in an age that a man appears, who has deeply explored the writings of the philosophers, orators, and historians,—who is acquainted, practically, with their spirit and genius,—who, in fact, has much beyond a schoolboy knowledge of the most important part of Grecian literature. The *Socraticæ chartæ*, those precious remains so strenuously recommended by Horace and Cicero, as the fountain of genius, to both the orator and the poet, are abandoned for the Choruses of Euripides.

Mr Taylor, by stepping aside from the vulgar path, and undertaking

dertaking to elucidate for his countrymen the Grecian philosophers, merits at least the praise of having set a good example; and he would have performed excellent service, had his views been as sane as they were directly the contrary, and his qualifications as perfect as they were grossly defective. Of the numerous, and important requisites which must unite in the man who shall give to us Plato, attired, as he ought to be, in English, and attended with those ministering servants, that, by their critical and philosophical lights, may present him to us in his own lineaments, without distortion, and without obscurity, not one, excepting singly a knowledge of the vocables and the grammatical construction of the Greek language, has fallen to the lot of Mr Taylor.

The evil, therefore, which he has done, or which, at least, is in danger of springing from what he has done, is the cause that has provoked us to rake up the ashes in his tomb, in hopes to find in it an antidote to the mischief which we dread; for had Mr Taylor, by exquisitely translating and elucidating Plato, opened fairly to his countrymen so fine a channel of instruction and delight; as he would have gone far towards enticing them into a more profitable track of classical pursuit, so, by exhibiting Plato as the mortal foe both of reason, and of taste, he cannot do less than confirm them still more in their predilection to the Choruses and the difficult verse. He has not translated Plato; he has travestied him, in the most cruel and abominable manner. He has not elucidated, but covered him over with impenetrable darkness.

It is, in truth, a curious combination of qualities that must have gone to the production of the performance in question. We have had before in England, persons fully as much enamoured as was wise, of the dogmas of antient philosophy; such as, Mr Harris and Lord Monboddo. But Mr Harris and Lord Monboddo, were at least more than moderately acquainted with modern science. They were men of considerable intelligence, and considerable knowledge. In an age when all men, even down to those who cannot spell, aspire to be authors, it would no doubt be hyperbolical to say that Mr Taylor is the most ignorant author we were ever condemned to peruse. But we intend no hyperbolé, when we say that he ought to be reckoned in the very lowest class of ignorant writers. He has not so much as a tincture of modern science. He makes it his boast, that he knows not a word of any modern language, excepting his mother tongue; and if it will add to his glory to be reckoned ignorant of that too, he shall have our testimony that his knowledge of it is abundantly scanty. By that exercise of his bare memory, by which he has become acquainted with the meaning of Greek words, and Greek idioms, he fancies that

that he has gained the very ſummit of human perfection; and thence he diſplays a ſelf-ſufficiency more enormous, an arrogance more diſguſting, than any author whom, at the moment at leaſt, we find it poſſible to name. As to his reaſoning and judging faculties, nothing, we ſuſpect, that the power of language would enable us to ſay, would ſuffice to convey an adequate idea of them. The reader muſt wait for the poſitive teſtimonies which the further examination of the performance may educe.

In the taſk of the man who would give to us Plato, as it would be deſirable to receive him, three grand particulars are included. 1. He ought to afford us ſuch explanations and inſtructions, in the way of commentary, as would ſuggeſt to us, accurately, the ſtate of knowledge when Plato wrote,—diſcover to us the nature, ſpirit, and tendency of his writings,—enable us to follow, as eaſily as poſſible in every inſtance, the chain of his reaſoning,—and comprehend exactly the point, whether of refutation, or of confirmation, which is purſued in the diſcourſe. 2. He ought to give us the text of Plato, in as perfect a ſtate, as it can now be brought to. Plato, though one of the Greek writers that has come down to us in the leaſt mutilated condition, is one of thoſe, to which the hand of modern criticiſm has done the leaſt ſervice; and a multitude of errors, the production of careleſs tranſcribers, many of which might be eaſily rectified, ſtill interrupt the ſtudent, and impair both his pleaſure and inſtruction. If we may ſpeak from our own experience, we ſhould imagine that every reader of Plato corrects his own copy for himſelf; and that it is only after he has thus brought his author to ſpeak his own language, that his converſations with him attain their *maximum* of profit and delight. 3. He ought to convert the beautiful Greek of Plato, into beautiful Engliſh,—into language, bearing the ſame character, the ſame diſtinctive features in Engliſh ſtyle, that the language of Plato bore in Greek.

If we muſt declare our opinion of the manner in which Mr Taylor has executed the ſeveral parts of this important taſk, it is incumbent on us to ſay, that he has executed them all ſo ill, that we do not believe it was poſſible, in the caſe even of one of them, to execute it worſe. Mr Taylor ought to excuſe us in being thus plain with him; becauſe, as will be ſeen by and by, he himſelf takes little trouble in ſelecting ſmooth expreſſions, when he has diſapprobation to beſtow; and he may be aſſured, that he never beſtowed it with a more perfect conviction of its being merited, than we do on the preſent occaſion.

1. In the character of commentator, Mr Taylor has ſcarcely done any thing, or indeed profeſſed to do any thing, but to faſten upon Plato the reveries of Proclus, and of the other philoſophers

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of the Alexandrian ſchool. He has never given himſelf the trouble to follow out for himſelf the reaſoning of his author, and note down, for the benefit of his reader, ſuch remarks as would enable him to follow the ſame reaſoning with more eaſe and delight. We own, that ſuch an attempt, in the hands of Mr Taylor, would have been abſolutely barren. To follow the reaſonings of Plato, and ſeize their pure, unadulterated ſenſe, which requires ſome ſubtlety, and ſome diſcrimination, was by no means a taſk for a man having his intellectual faculties in the ſtate of Mr Taylor's. What Mr Taylor has done is, here and there, to clap on a patch, from Proclus, in the ſhape of a note, or of an introduction; and then to cry beautiful explanation! exquiſite doctrine! ſublime 'diſciplines!' And thus the office of commentator is completed.

The extent of the injury thus committed requires ſome explanation. It has been the fate of Plato, in modern times, to be ſeen through a moſt unfavourable medium. The viſionaries of the Alexandrian ſchool, by calling themſelves Platoniſts, and clothing themſelves, as much as poſſible, with the reputation of that admired philoſopher, have made him be confounded in a great meaſure with themſelves. The anticipated diſguſt which has withheld almoſt every body from peruſing the one, has accordingly withheld moſt people from becoming acquainted with the other. That author, who was in the moſt peculiar manner the favourite of Cicero, and recommended by that accompliſhed judge as the fineſt teacher, both of eloquence and of ratiocination; whoſe writings were always the principal part of thoſe admired *Socraticæ chartæ*, the principal ſource, according to Horace, of that wiſdom which is the ſpring and origin of every thing exquiſite in literature,—has been leſs read in modern times, than any other of the claſſical authors of Greece or Rome.

Inſtead of doing, what it would have been ſo deſirable to have had done; inſtead of rescuing Plato from this injurious miſapprehenſion, and inviting the youth of his country to that inſtruction which Cicero and Horace ſo highly prized, Mr Taylor has done, what in him lay, to confirm the miſapprehenſion; and, by heaping abſurdity more thick upon his author than before, to chaſe every body from a taſk ſo nauſeous as the ſtudy of him is thus made to appear.

Mr Taylor has accompliſhed, what it did require very ſtrong evidence to prove was in the preſent age capable of being accompliſhed; he has ſucceeded in getting up the belief, whole and entire, of all the unmeaning, wild and ridiculous reveries of the latter Platoniſts; nay, more than this, he has added to the belief, an admiration, which words ſink under him in expreſſing;—no man ever regarded a revelation from heaven with more extatic adoration,

doration, than Mr Taylor does the sublime discoveries of Proclus!

On the principle of not disputing tastes, and from having some better service to perform, we should probably not have thought of disturbing the belief or admiration of Mr Taylor, had he only confined himself to Proclus and his brethren; but when he thinks of fastening the whole fraternity upon the back of Plato, for whom we have some regard, we cannot bear to see the unmerciful load, or help calling out to the passengers to take notice that it ought not to be there.

It is not easy to find an example that will suit the occasion;—for, if we were to say that the ravings of Jacob Behmen are not a more abominable misrepresentation of the New Testament than the commentaries of Proclus and Company are of the writings of Plato, we should not come up to the magnitude of the case. The writings of the German (cobler, we think it was) are even a pattern of rationality, compared with those of the Alexandrian sages. Those men were in fact the *charlotans* of antient philosophy; and we have nothing in modern times to compare either with the phrensy of their writings, or the infamy of their lives. A gross mixture of the allegorical genius of Oriental theology, with the quibbling genius of the worst kind of Grecian metaphysics, and an audacious spirit of mystical, irrational and unintelligible fancy-hunting, respecting the invisible powers of nature, and the economy of the universe, constitutes the essence or the animating principle of that absurd and disgusting jargon which they exhibit to us under the profaned name of philosophy. Add to this, that they were, almost without exception, impostors and mountebanks, THAUMATURGI *par metier*, that is, lying professors of miracle-working, of conversing with the gods, of revelations from heaven, and other cheats by which they could purloin the admiration of an ignorant and absurd multitude.

Now for Mr Taylor's answer to these charges. All ignorance, says he; profound ignorance. But let us have it in his own words, as they are remarkable both for the gentleness of the spirit, and the urbanity of the style. 'But who are the men by 'whom these latter interpreters of Plato are reviled? When and 'whence did this defamation originate? Was it when the *firm* '*champions for the trinity* [a pretty fair hit this, at Christianity, 'from a believer in Jupiter] fled from Galilee, and invoked, but 'in vain, the assistance of philosophy? Was it because that 'mitred sophist Warburton thought fit to talk of the polluted 'streams of the Alexandrian school, without knowing any thing 'of the source whence those streams are derived? Or was it 'because some heavy German critic, who knew nothing beyond 'a verb in μι, presumed to *grunt* at these venerable heroes?'

What we hinted a little ago, that Mr Taylor had not much claim to ceremonious treatment, on the score of his indulgence to those who had the misfortune to differ from himself, we trust will now be conceded to us.

Let us hear him, however, finish his triumphant reply. 'Whatever was its source,' he continues, 'and whenever it originated—for I have not been able to discover either—this, however, 'is certain, that it owes its being to the most profound Ignorance, or the most artful sophistry, and that its origin is no less 'contemptible than obscure.'

There is one of these German critics, who, though not endowed with the spirit of philosophy to that eminent degree which, for his arduous and important task, was to have been wished, has yet, by his industry, by his erudition, and the general soundness of his judgment, performed a service of the highest value to philosophy,—we mean Brucker, the author of the celebrated and most useful *Historia Critica Philosophiæ;* some of whose *swinish* notes respecting these Alexandrian worthies, it may not be improper for Mr Taylor to hear.

The following is part of the character of Proclus, the prime favourite of Mr Taylor, whom he denominates (such are his very words) 'the consummation of philosophic excellence;' and scraps from the writings of whom, he wishes to impose upon us, as exquisite commentary upon Plato. "Talis vero cum fuerit Proclus, cumque hæc virtutum ejus summa fuerit, quis vel judicium tribuet acre homini, anili superstitione se polluenti, vel inter philosophos primæ classis reponet philosophiæ professorem, cum ancillulis et quovis ex plebe inanissima religione certantem? Quis virum bonum esse Proclum judicabit, qui ne pudore quidem, multo minus conscientiæ monitu, deterritus, turpissimis fabulis et discipulos decepit, et omnium gentium religionem et sacra commiscere ausus fuit, et allegoriæ beneficio, vel machinis potius, rotunda miscere quadratis, omnemque eruditionem miseranda confusione replere, non erubuit? Quod qui negat, eum Procli scripta nunquam legisse oportet, vel ad eam theologiam attendisse, quam Proclus Zoroastream, Hermeticam, Orphicam esse, magna ostentatione crepuit." *Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 333. This is one *grunt*, and rather an untunable one to the ears of Mr Taylor. Let him listen to a few more.

Grunt the Second. "Ex scriptis Procli, quæ nobis servavit fortuna, patet; et ex omnibus paginis luculenter constare potest, hujusmodi concepisse hominem, eruditum quidem, sed fanaticum et furore philosophiæ suæ corruptum, in animo suo, doctrinarum male cohærentium chaos, in quod bona et mala, apta et inepta, sana et insana omnia, Chaldaicæ, Orphicæ, Homericæ, Hermeticæ,

Hermeticæ, Pythagoricæ, Platonicæ, Aristotelicæ philosophiæ nomine, fuere recepta, quodque et allegoriarum machinis, et nefando opinionum syncretismo, et mira luxuriantis ingenii intemperie,' &c. tom. ii. p. 325.

Grunt the third. "Quamvis vero Platonem, quemque, tanquam ejus preceptorem, venerabantur, Pythagoram, pro duce eligerent, non infimo tamen loco habendus erat Aristoteles. . . . Is itaque ut cum Platone in concordiam redigeretur, resecanda multa, &c. . . . Relinquendus porro Aristoteli honos quod dialecticam elegantius instruxisset, ast vindicanda Platoni philosophia naturalis et supernaturalis; quo in capite, cum in primariis dogmatibus valde inter se dissentirent Plato et Aristoteles, *miræ excogitandæ erant nugæ, et ἐνυπνια*, quibus licet valde distorqueretur utriusque philosophi opinio, attamen coire in unum, et conspirare, cogebatur. . . . In physiologia autem eum cum Platone mira sententiarum et doctrinarum catastrophe conciliarunt, *monstris hypothesium excogitatis*, quibus tanquam machinis discordiam inter utrumque everterent." tom. ii. p. 362.

But it is not merely against the doctrines, or the indescribable stuff in the name of doctrines, afforded by these Grecian sages, that the German hog makes the disagreeable noise which it is natural to beasts of his species to make, when annoyed by things offensive. He squeaks, which is louder than grunting, against their lives; telling us that the doctors of Mr Taylor's school were, almost to a man, little better, if the truth may be spoken, than common rogues; much more worthy of a pillory than of the admiration of a deluded multitude. We recollect, when we first read the Pseudomantis of Lucian, in which he describes a philosopher of this sect, and recounts all the base and disgusting arts of deception which he employed—arts so numerous and degrading, that those of the vilest quackdoctors of modern times, even of German mountebanks, exhibiting on a stage with a merry-andrew, are respectable and honourable in the comparison,—we imagined, being then a good deal younger than we are now, that the case was entirely fictitious; that no such beings, under the name of philosophers, ever did, or could exist.—All a mistake.—When we became acquainted with Brucker, we soon found that the Platonic philosophers had so nearly come up to ideal perfection, that the satyrist had little more to do than to copy from the life.

Brucker, for example, tells us of Apollonius; "Præterita eum et futura tanquam prætentia inſpexiſſe et prædixiſſe; noviſſe in quæ corpora prius animæ migrantes fuerint ingreſſæ, quidque in iis peregerint: potuiſſe educere membra corpuſque ſuum vinculis prout placuerit; averruncaſſe malos ſpiritus, peſtilentes morbos et

alia mala hominibus inducentes; confectiſque talis manibus et amuletis, magica arte conſtructis, clavina plurima a totis regionibus et civitatibus depuliſſe: viſum eum fuiſſe, paucarum horarum tempore Romæ et Puteolis:—Vidiſſe Epheſi cædem Domitiani;—potuiſſe porro manes ex inferis ſedibus provocare, et precibus, ab Indis acceptis, Achillem ex ſepulchro produxiſſe eique varia præcepiſſe; excitaviſſe puellam viri proconſularis e mortuis et ſponſo reddediſſe; imperaſſe mari, ventoque, et fluctibus, ut placido Neptuno ſemper uteretur; aperuiſſe fores templorum, et clauſiſſe;—apparuiſſe etiam eum poſt mortem, invocatum et de animarum immortalitate fœdiſſe oracula." t. ii. p. 136.—*Cedrenus*, ib. citat. inſtructs us further, "Effeciſſe ſuis magicis artibus, ne ſerpentes et ſcorpii percuterent, neve culices adeſſent, ne equi ferocirent: Lycum quoque amnem compeſcuiſſe, ne ſuis exundationibus Byzantis noceret."

Of this ſect, Platonic, Alexandrian, Eclectic, (it was known by all theſe names,) Brucker aſſerts in general, "Inter eos recte reputatur [Apollonius], ... quos Eclecticorum nomine in ſequentibus contemplabimur, demonſtrabimuſque, non licitum tantum, ſed pium quoque et laudabile duxiſſe, in rebus ſacris fraudibus uti et mendaciis." In the ſame page, "Platonicorum morem mendaciis rem ſuam juvandi, ſcimus." And again, "Ex hac ſchola egreſſi ſunt homines audaces et impudentiſſimi, et in his omnium maxime Hierocles." This gentleman is characterized by Mr Taylor, (See Gen. Introd. p. lxxxvii.) as the "*Magnificent Hierocles;*" and is enumerated among the great princes of the ſchool. Of Porphyry, another of theſe ſublime doctors, he ſays, "Mendacii et fraudis poſtulari poſſe, attenta vitæ Plotini, ab eo conſcriptæ, lectio nos mox convincet, et in aprico ponet aſtutiam hominis, præceptorem ſuum non ex veritate, ſed ſectæ ſuæ emolumento deſcribentis. Qua in re hujus ſcholæ mores ſecutus eſt Porphyrius, quam fraudibus quoque et mendaciis, vanaque jactantia res ſuas juvare licitum exiſtimaſſe, ſupra monuimus. Eo minus vero fides ſine examine adhibenda eſt Porphyrio, quo magis in vitæ quam nobis dedit Pythagoræ hiſtoria, fraudes ejus et mendacia deteximus; planumque fecimus, eo potiſſimum ſcopo atque fine conſcripſiſſe ſubdolum hominum genus vitas philoſophorum ſectæ ſuæ, ut eos divinos fuiſſe homines, majora quam a nudo homine expectari queant edentes opera, oſtenderent." t. ii. p. 218.

The following paſſage, relating to Plotinus, is very ſtrong: "Incantatorem vero magicis eum ſuperaſſe artibus, et provocaſſe ſpiritum tutelarem, cum Ægyptiaco ſacerdote de hac arte certantem, quid aliud probat, quam vel veneficum magumque, vel impoſtorem et præſtigiatorem fuiſſe Plotinum maximum? qui ſi reia ii vixiſſet temporibus dignus fuiſſet qui Apollonio et Alexandro

andro jungeretur. Aſt hic tandem communis quaſi Aſiæ, Africæ et Europæ præceptor fuit, qui novum et peſtilentiſſimum philoſophiæ genus, quod totum ſuperſtitionem, enthuſiaſmum, præſtigias et innumeras decipiendi homines artes complectebatur, per diſcipulos ubique diffeminavit " t. ii. p. 231.

We are now desirous to put an end to these quotations; but we must not entirely omit Proclus; because he is the grand performer in the hands of Mr Taylor, and because it is his precious ore with which we are here treated for the gold of Plato. 'Arthritidis doloribus,' says Brucker, 'in pede ustulatus, ex præscripto cujusdam emplastrum imposuerat, quod, dum in lecto jacet, avis inopia advolans abstulit: quod etsi salutare ei erat, timore tamen morbi augebatur; supplicavit itaque Deo, rogans, ut evidentius se certiorem faceret. Quo facto, cum obdormivisset, vidit Epidaurium ad se accedentem, accuratiusque contemplantem ipsius crura, nec præ humanissimo amore dedignantem genua osculo contingere. Quo viso Proclus bono fuit animo, nec unquam in vita eo porro dolore affectus est.' * * * * * * * * 'Jynge quadam, sive spærula Hecatica opportune motita, imbres deduxit, et Atticam infausto æstu liberavit; terræ quoque motum positis fascinis inhibuit; morbos hymnis et præcatiunculis depulit; et quæ alia hujus generis sunt.' t. ii. p. 331. 'Cum aliquando ei docenti supervenisset vir magni in republica nominis Rufinus, caput Procli lumine circumfundi sensisse, cumque philosophus finem interpretationi posuisset, Rufinum assurgentem eum adoravisse,' p. 332. 'Quæ nefandas,' adds Brucker in the same place, 'horum hominum artes, mendacia et imposturas luculenter revelant, geniumque sectæ produnt clarissime, qui in eo unice elaboravit, ut sive fraude, sive nugis et ineptiis, sive mendaciis, et doctoribus suis, et doctrinæ suæ divinam auctoritatem assereret.'

As we are desirous once for all to set the public right (as to Mr Taylor himself, he is too far gone) with regard to the Platonic philosophers, and the entire dissimilarity between them, and the truly philosophic friend of Socrates, whose venerable name they so much abused, we will add the opinion of two recent scholars of our own country, whose knowledge Mr Taylor will not venture to characterize in terms quite so rough as that of the Germans who offend him. The first is Mr Gibbon, who tells us (Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iv. p. 70.) 'The philosophers of the Platonic school, Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Jamblichus, were admired as the most skilful masters of this allegorical science, which laboured to soften and harmonize the deformed features of Paganism. Julian himself, who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Ædesius, the ve-

nerable successor of Jamblichus, aspired to the possession of a treasure, which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn asseverations, far above the empire of the world. It was indeed a treasure, which derived its value only from opinion; and every artist, who flattered himself that he had extracted the precious ore from the surrounding dross, claimed an equal right of stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his peculiar fancy. ..... This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the impenetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe.'

The next is the opinion of Jacob Bryant. 'By the help of the mistaken term νους or νυς,' (says he, Analys. of Ant. Mythol. vol. iii. p. 104. ed. 8vo), 'and of its derivative νοερος and νοητος, they pretended to find out much mysterious and recondite knowledge; all which was utterly unknown to those from whom they derived their intelligence. There are numberless instances of this in Porphyry, and Jamblichus; and in Proclus upon the Platonic philosophy. It is to be observed, that, when Christianity had introduced a more rational system, as well as a more refined worship among mankind; the Pagans were struck with the sublimity of its doctrines, and tried in their turns to refine. But their misfortune was, that they were obliged to abide by the theology, which had been transmitted to them; and to make the history of the Gentile gods the basis of their procedure. This brought them into immense difficulties and equal absurdities: while they laboured to solve what was inexplicable; and to remedy what was past cure. Hence we meet with many dull and elaborate sophisms even in the great Plutarch: but many more in aftertimes, among the writers of whom I am speaking. Proclus is continually ringing the changes upon the terms νους, νοερος, and νοητος: and explains what is really a proper name, as if it signified *sense* and *intellect*. In consequence of this, he tries to subtilize, and refine all the base jargon about Saturn and Zeus: and would persuade us, that the most idle and obscene legends related to the divine mind, to the eternal wisdom, and supremacy of the Deity. Thus he borrows many exalted notions from Christianity; and blends them with the basest alloy, with the dregs of Pagan mythology.'

A few words, we trust, will be sufficient to convince all men, but Mr Taylor, that there is no consanguinity between Plato, and such sages as those we have been describing.—'The great Plotinus,' [see Mr Taylor's own words, Introd. p. lxxxvii.] 'the most learned

learned Porphyry, the divine Jamblichus, the most acute Syrianus, Proclus the consummation of philosophic excellence, the magnificent Hierocles, the concisely elegant Sallust, and the most inquisitive Damascius;—men who were truly links of the golden chain of Deity.' One of the most remarkable features of the writings of Plato is, that he affirms nothing; whereas the friends of Mr Taylor are the most desperately affirmative of all human beings. In most of the Dialogues of Plato, the object is to refute the tenets and expose the ignorance of some of those sophists who travelled about Greece, under pretence of teaching eloquence and philosophy, and who, in general, filled the minds of the youth with a spirit of mere logomachy, and with the worst impressions of right and wrong, with regard both to public and to private life. The ingenuity, the acuteness, the address, the eloquence with which this delicate and important task is performed, render the perusal of these Dialogues among the most improving exercises which can engage a juvenile mind. Hardly any thing, in the way of example at least, can be conceived more calculated to sharpen the faculties; to render acute in discerning, and ingenious in exposing fallacies; to engender a love of mental exercise; and to elevate with the ambition of mental excellence. In some of the dialogues, as in those with Alcibiades, the object is to expose some of the false impressions which are most apt to prevail in the minds of men, and to lead to the most dangerous consequences. In these the skill with which the misapprehension is analyzed; the variety of ridiculous lights into which it is thrown; and the power of argument as well as of satire which is employed to expose it, operate as the strongest sanative. In those of a different description, where inquiry, in the rigid sense of the word, is more the object, as in the books concerning Polity and Laws, the business is to give specimens of investigation, to let in rays of light, to analyze particular points, and, by throwing out queries or hypotheses, to encourage speculation, rather than lay down and establish any system of opinions. Accordingly, Cicero expressly tells us, 'In Platonis libris nihil affirmatur; et in utramque partem multa disseruntur; de omnibus quæritur, nihil certe dicitur.'

In all this, nothing under heaven can be more different, both as to matter and manner, than the writings of Plato and those of the *soi-disant* Platonists. The business of the Platonists is all in supernaturals; of Plato, as far as we have yet gone, is all in moral and political, or at most metaphysical subjects. The language of the one is as wild, and mystical, and obscure, as their ideas; that of the other is always elegant, often highly figurative and eloquent; and unless when he is puzzling himself with

abortive attempts to explain the nature of abstract ideas, highly clear and appropriate.

It was celebrated as the glory of Socrates, that he had brought philosophy down from the aerial regions of fiction and conjecture about things remote from the sphere of man; and taught her to converse on subjects of real utility in human life. The immediate disciples of Socrates, among whom the most eminent were Plato and Xenophon, trod in his steps. The latter Platonists were so far from following their example, that they exerted all their influence to lodge philosophy once more among the clouds, and expel her finally from the walks of mortals. Yet strange it is, that these same latter Platonists have in general been regarded in modern times as conveying a fair idea of the philosophy of Plato!

Besides those discourses which we have described above, and which compose the principal part of the writings of Plato, there are a few which are to be regarded, in some sort, as *jeux-d'esprit*, and in which the principal object of the writer seems to have been, to afford a specimen or a display of his genius; such is the Menexenus, where Plato enters the lists with the orators, and gives us a model of a funeral oration for Athenian warriors slain in battle, which Mr Harris has celebrated as the masterpiece of human eloquence, though Dionysius Halicarnassensis has censured it as turgid. It was not merely the orators whom Plato was ambitious of rivalling; he desired to contend too with the philosophers, at their own weapons. As explanations of the origin, and economy of the universe, was that on which the sophists chiefly plumed themselves, and which was often, indeed, most available to their reputation, Plato seems to have been desirous of showing them how easy, even here, it would be to excel them. Accordingly, in the Timæus, he puts into the mouth of a philosopher of that name a discourse, in which a cosmogony, far more ingenious than any before invented by the philosophers, is laid down. But it is merely presented as a mode, according to which any one may conceive that the universe originated and was composed; not as a delineation on which any one is called upon to rely as a relation of the fact. It is accordingly not presented to us in the person of Socrates, in which form, any thing that Plato designed should be considered as an opinion of his own, is always given; but in that of Timæus, a philosopher of a different country, and a different school. This discourse, however, afforded a plausible, and an unlucky plea for the Alexandrian sages to claim the illustrious Grecian for the founder of that wild plan of mystic conjecture which they pursued in the name of philosophy.

2. In regard to the service which ought to have been done to literature, by rectifying, to the highest degree practicable, the text of Plato, it is necessary merely to entreat our readers to reflect for one moment on the importance of this service, and then to tell them that Mr Taylor has entirely abandoned it. Mr Taylor was certainly altogether unqualified for the task. But it is the more wonderful that he has in no degree attempted it, that Mr Sydenham, a scholar of a very different description, set him an example, in the Dialogues which he has translated, of some valuable performance of this nature. We recollect one or two cases in which Mr Taylor has told us that Proclus had followed a different reading from that in our printed copies; and this is what he has nobly contributed toward improving the editions of Plato.

3. We come now to the principal part of Mr Taylor's task, that of giving to us Plato in our own language. We own that it was an arduous task. Of all authors Plato is, perhaps, the most difficult to translate. Nevertheless, the examples, of Sydenham in English, of Grou in French, and of Bembo in Italian, prove at least that the thing may be done, and that there is no impossibility in doing it well. Mr Taylor has done it shockingly. His language is stiff, and awkward, and uncouth, to a degree that has hardly any example, even among those literal translations which have been provided for the use of schools. Nor is this the worst. Mr Taylor has by no means given us a fair representation even of the meaning of Plato. Wherever this misrepresentation has been committed by substituting for the proper translation of the words of Plato, a translation of the base jargon of the latter Platonists, the reader will expect it as a thing of course. The extent to which this pollution reaches, is however very great; and it would have been grievously to be lamented, had the task been well executed where this delusion finds not a place. But the misinterpretation of Plato is not confined within such narrow bounds. Gross mistakes with regard to the meaning of the text swarm in every part. Any competent scholar has but to open the book,—and if he compares one page with the original, the chance is great that he will light upon more blunders than one. If we do not charge Mr Taylor with absolute incapacity to interpret the Greek, it is not because an attentive examination of his Plato has not convinced us, that he has got fully as much reputation for his knowledge of Greek as he deserves, but we at least do charge him with unpardonable carelessness in the performance of his task. We are quite satisfied that his general practice has been to interpret directly from the Latin translation, without so much as looking at the Greek; for the cases are so numerous in which we have found his translation an exact copy of the Latin, and in which

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a small error in the common readings; το γαρ λευκον τω μελανι εστιν ὁ τι πεφυκεν, κ. τ. λ.; instead of ὁ τι it is printed ὁ μη, which entirely destroys the whole meaning of the passage, and the whole pertinency of the argument. To all this, however, Mr Taylor was blind. He follows the corrupt reading, and has no idea of the nonsense; 'for white,' says he, 'has no similitude to black, nor hard to soft.' Yet Henry Stephens, had he but given himself the trouble to look at the edition of that eminent scholar, would have set him right. "Scribendo εστιν ὁ τι," says he, "vel εστιν ἡ, (nam εστιν ὁ μη qui diceretur?) belle cohærebit," &c. It will be seen what havoc our translator then makes with the rest of the paragraph. The clause beginning και ταλλα, and ending το ἑτερον, he totally misunderstands, divides it into two parts, and explains one half one way, and the other half another way. But the most unpardonable misinterpretation, perhaps, of the whole, is that of the clause which succeeds; ὡστε τατ' αν τω τροπω κἀν ταυτα ελεγχοις, ει βουλοιο, ὡς απαντα εστι ὁμοια αλληλοις. 'So that,' says Mr Taylor, 'although you should confute these things after this manner, if you are of opinion that all things are similar to one another.' The real Greek scholar will very plainly see, not only that the sense of the text is here totally misunderstood and misrepresented, but that the idiom of the language is totally mistaken and perverted. The phrase, ει βουλοιο, for example, he takes, not as an independent clause, meaning, 'if you please;' he takes it as connected with, and as governing the succeeding clause, in the sense of 'if you mean that.' But he ought to have known that the idiom of the language does not admit of such a construction; in the first place, the optative mood in that sense would have been wrong, and the word ought to have been βουλει, not βουλοιο; in the next place, βουλομαι in that sense is never construed with the connective particle ὡς but ὁτι. The verb ελεγχω, of one important meaning of which he must have entirely lost sight, seems likewise to have misled him. It has two principal shades of meaning. It first means simply to refute, by showing the contradiction or absurdity of an antagonist's plea; and secondly it means to refute, by proving something better on the other side; to establish one proposition in refutation of another. It has this last sense in the present instance, while Mr Taylor had thought only of giving to it the former.

It will now amuse the reader, after having seen how unlike the translation of Mr Taylor is to the Greek of Plato, to perceive how similar it is, on the other hand, to the Latin of Ficinus: "Nam quodlibet cuilibet quiddam simile habet, præter illa quæ omnino inter se contraria sunt, ut album nigrum, molle durum. Atqui et illa quæ supra diximus aliam aliamque inter se rem habere,

bere, nec tale eſſe alterum quale alterum eſt, ceu vultus ipſius partes, quiddam ſimile inter ſe habent, eſtque quodammodo tale alterum quale alterum. Atque hac ratione licet hæc refellas, ſi placet quod cuncta invicem ſimilia ſunt: non tamen quæcunque ſimile quiddam habent, ſimilia vocanda ſunt, neque etiam quæcunque diſſimile quiddam, invicem diſſimilia ſi exiguum quiddam ſimile habent.'

We muſt now, however, leave the Protagoras, to take a few ſpecimens from another quarter. We find, on turning to our notes, and reckoning up the paſſages we had marked for animadverſion, in this ſingle Dialogue, that they amount to above a hundred. As a ſample of Mr Taylor's bad Engliſh, the following inſtances even of grammatical tranſgreſſion, may be preſented from the tranſlation of this Dialogue.—'And when they were about to lead them into light, they commanded Prometheus and Epimetheus to diſtribute to, and adorn, each, with thoſe powers which were adapted to their nature.' (*u. s.* p. 115.) The relative 'each' is here governed jointly by the two verbs, 'diſtribute to' and 'adorn;' and the ſucceeding phraſe, 'with thoſe powers,' &c. is common to both. But what an expreſſion to ſay, *diſtribute to each with thoſe powers?*—In page 124, he ſays, 'Is it therefore thus alſo with the parts of virtue, ſo that the one does *not* reſemble the other, *neither* in itſelf, nor in its power?'—*Not neither*—Mr Taylor ſhould have known that in Engliſh double negatives are either not known, or are equivalent to affirmatives.

Let us next then turn to the Timæus, that part of the writings of Plato, which affords the greateſt delight to Mr Taylor, and his companions. Ἡδὺς Κουρεωτις ἡμιν ἐσα ετυγχανεν Απατυριων, το δε της ἑορτης συνηθες ἑκαστοτε, και τοτε ξυνεβη τοις παισιν. Mr Taylor tranſlates this, (vol. ii. p. 465.) 'When, therefore, that ſolemnity was celebrated among us which is known by the name of Cureotis Apaturiorum, *nothing was omitted which boys in that feſtivity are accuſtomed to perform:*'—the laſt clauſe entirely wrong; for Plato ſays not that *every* thing, but only that *one* thing, cuſtomary on thoſe occaſions, was done: το της ἑορτης συνηθες ἑκαστοτε, και τοτε ξυνεβη τοις παισι; 'this cuſtom attached to that feſtival was then too obſerved by the youths,'—namely, the cuſtom of contending with one another in the recitation of verſes.

There is a paſſage, a little further on, which we really can invent no hypotheſis to account for, but a degree of ignorance, which, if real, is truly lamentable. Εστι τις κατ' Αιγυπτον εν τῳ Δελτα, περι ὁ κατα κεφυφην σχιζεται το της Νειλε ῥευμα, Σαιτικος καλουμενος νομος. This Mr Taylor (p. 466.) thus tranſlates, 'There is a certain region of Egypt called Delta, about the ſummit of which the ſtreams of the Nile are divided. *In this place a government*

is

is established, called Saitical.' A *Saitical government*; what did Mr Taylor mean by that? What sort of a government is a *Saitical government?* Are we really driven to the necessity of supposing, that Mr Taylor does not know the terms of Egyptian geography? Was not Egypt divided into a number of districts, computed to have been about thirty-six; and were not these divisions called *nomes*, every one of which had a distinctive name? Thus there was the *Saitic nome*, the *Bubastic nome*, the *Heliopolitic nome*, and a variety of other *nomes*; as we have in England, the county of Middlesex, the county of Surry, or the county of York. The translation of Mr Taylor is the same as if a man, who knew no better, should translate a passage, which meant, that 'there is in England a county called Devonshire,' and should say, 'there is in England *a government called Devonshirical.*'

In a part of the discourse relating to the Creator of the world, after a division of exemplars into two kinds, according to one or other of which it behoved the world, κοσμος, to be created, the speaker proceeds to inquire according to which of these it was likely the Creator of the world regulated his work: τοδε αυ παλιν επισκεπτιον περι αυτυ, προς ποτερον των παραδειγματων ὁ τικταινομενος αυτον απεργαζετο. This Mr Taylor renders; 'Again: this is to be considered concerning him, I mean, according to what paradigm extending himself, he fabricated the world.' (*Ibid.* p. 474.) *According to what paradigm extending himself—the Creator of the world extending himself according to a paradigm*—what can be meant by this? But again, where is there any thing bearing the least resemblance to it in the Greek? τοδε αυ παλιν επισκεπτιον περι αυτε (subaud. τκοσμυ)—'But this again we are to inquire with respect to it'—προς ποτερον των παραδειγματων, 'according to which of the two exemplars'—ὁ τικταινομενος αυτον απεργαζετο, did the Fabricator fashion it?'

But to pursue examples would be a task without end. We are still, however, anxious to give one or two from the Parmenides. This, perhaps, of all the discourses of Plato, is that which has been the most abused and tortured by the Platonists. In most of the other discourses, the object of which is to expose the Sophists, some one of them, after having stated his principal dogma, is led on by Socrates, till he lands in self-contradiction and absurdity. In the present instance the case is somewhat different. Parmenides, the Sophist in question, is introduced explaining his own doctrines, and is merely allowed to run on, with such a string of absurd inferences, as abundantly expose themselves; while he labours, with most preposterous ambition, to display the exquisite powers of his genius, by proving all manner of

of contradictory and absurd propositions, as equally necessary consequences from the principle with which he set out.

The field in which this ridiculous and contemptible legerdemain is performed, is that of abstract ideas; in which Plato himself attempted occasionally to perform better exercises. The great puzzle to the antient philosophers was the nature of abstract terms. The sophists availed themselves of the obscurity attending them, to invent quibbles, and to prove by invincible argument what no man would believe. Plato laboured to explain them, and in the attempt displays the powers of a genius truly gigantic; but still it is evident that he fell short of the discovery at which he aimed.

The mode in which he endeavoured to conceive their meaning was this. Man, for example, is a general term. What then is man? Crito is a man, and Cebes is a man; but these are individuals, and there are other such individuals, infinite in number, who are likewise men. This therefore is not what is meant by man. What is meant by man, is something common to all those individuals. In like manner with regard to horse, and ox, or tree, plant, stone, and so forth.—The generalization of qualities he attempted to penetrate in the same manner. Beauty, for example, what is that? A rose is beautiful, a fawn is beautiful, Lais is beautiful. But it is not the enumeration of beautiful individuals, that can explain what is beauty. Beauty is something common to all those individuals, by partaking of which something they are beautiful. But what are these somethings, man, horse, beauty, &c.? It is evident that they are not the objects of sense. Individuals only are the objects of sense. They are the creatures of the mind. Plato gave to them the names ἰδια, and ιδεος; and advanced a variety of propositions with regard to them. Individuals, as Crito, Cebes, Solon, Socrates, were infinite in number; man, however, was *one* of the same, in the whole species. So, in regard to horse, and all other species; the ἰδια, the ιδεος, is one, and invariable; the individuals are infinite, and changeable. He appropriated to them the terms, αει ον, το αυτο επι πασιν, κατα ταυτα και ωσαυτως εχον. Individuals again were απειρα, μη κατα ταυτα και ωσαυτως εχοντα, &c.

Inquirers carried, however, their generalizations further than to mere species. There was the term *animal* which was common to all the species of living creatures. There were the terms *thing* and *substance*, common to all material existences. In this manner they mounted up till they came to a term which included every thing; this was the term *being*, in Greek το ον. This of course was the highest ιδεος, ἰδια. As, in the case of man, horse, tree, &c. the something man, the something horse, that is, the

abstract idea, the ἰδέα, was *one*, ἓν, in regard to all the individuals of the species; so the abstract idea *being*, το ον, was *one*, in regard to all things whatever; as the former were, each of them, *one*, with regard to whole classes of the parts—so this was *one* with regard to the whole; it was therefore *one* by distinction; it was *the* one, το ἓν.

The sophists getting hold of this very abstract—and while the nature of abstract terms was still so little understood, this very obscure term—in their insatiable desire to say only surprising things, they played with it the most extraordinary pranks. It is an exhibition of this despicable sort which we have in the Parmenides. The sophist of that name is introduced ringing the changes upon το ἓν. Incredible are the consequences, if το ἓν exists; equally incredible are they, if το ἓν does not exist.

This obscure nonsense, however, evidently left by Plato as a model of absurdity, was as the breath of life to the latter Platonists. They had learned from the Oriental and Egyptian mythologists to apply the term το ον to the Divinity. They seized upon it, therefore, with greediness, wherever they found it in Plato, and along with it upon the term το ἓν, to which they gave the same application. All the ridiculous quibbles, therefore, respecting το ἓν, put into the vain and ostentatious mouth of Parmenides, are embraced by Proclus and his brethren as so many sublime and mysterious discoveries concerning the Divinity. They comment upon them, as such, with their own tedious and disgusting stuff; which Mr Taylor has here poured out upon his reader, with exorbitant praises, and in exorbitant quantity. He has accordingly totally misinterpreted this curious dialogue. The instances however of mistranslation, arising from this general cause, we must leave with this general explanation. Of the instances which arise from misapprehending the sense of particular passages, we shall select one or two.

Parmenides, beginning his discourse, says, he would prefer carrying it on by way of question and answer, and that he should like to put his questions to the youngest man in the company; because such an one "would least complicate the inquiry by disturbing it with ideas of his own, and would most candidly say what he thought:" ἥκιστα γὰρ ἂν πολυπράγμονη, καὶ ἃ οἴεται μάλιστ' ἂν ἀποκρίνοιτο. This, Mr Taylor totally misunderstands, and mistranslates in the following manner: 'For the labour will be very little for him to answer what he thinks.' (v. iii. p. 107.)

Parmenides, having assumed that το ἓν exists, proceeds to inquire what consequences follow, first with regard to *the one* itself, and then with regard to *other things* than the one. He had just finished the inquiry with regard to the first part, the consequences

quences following with regard to *the one* itself; and says, ταυτα τα παθηματα παντ' αν πασχοι Το Εν, ει εστιν. He then adds, Τι δε τοις αλλοις προσηκει αν πασχειν, Εν ει εστιν, αρα ε σκεπτεον; "Is it not requisite, in the next place, to inquire, what are the consequences with regard to other things, if *the one* exists?" The respondent having answered in the affirmative, Parmenides subjoins, Λεγωμεν δη, Εν ει εστιν, ταλλα τε Ενος τι χρη πεπονθεναι; "Let us then explain, if *the one* exists, what must be the consequences with regard to other things than *the one*.' Mr Taylor translates the words thus, 'Let us relate, therefore, *if the one is*, what other things ought to suffer from *the one*.' (Ibid. p. 189.) The ταλλα τε Ενος, though a phrase, the meaning of which is so clearly fixed by the context, he has entirely misunderstood.

But we must proceed no further. The dialogue abounds with similar blunders. The Theætetus is another dialogue in which we have carefully traced Mr Taylor for examples to the present article. This discourse too is prolific in similar proofs of his accuracy and knowledge. But our limits will not permit us to pursue further this examination. We have already adduced abundant proof of Mr Taylor's lamentable deficiency in every requisite for the performance of his arduous task;—and we trust that, in the course of this investigation, we have thrown out some hints that may be of use to the student of Plato, especially by warning him against the too common error of confounding the works of that justly celebrated philosopher with the extravagant fancies, and absurd reveries, of the Alexandrian Sages.

ART. XV. *Biographie Moderne, ou Dictionnaire Biographique de tous les Hommes morts ou vivans, qui ont marqué à la fin du* 18 *Siecle ou au Commencement de celui-ci, par leur Rang, leurs Emplois, leurs Talens, leurs Malheurs, leurs Vertus, leurs Crimes, et où tous les faits qui les concernent sont rapportés de la Maniere la plus impartiale et la plus authentique.* A Leipzig. 1807.

"To endeavour," says Machiavel, in his Discourses, "to make a people free who are servile in their nature, is as hopeless, as to attempt to reduce to slavery a nation imbued with the spirit of freedom." This remark, which was dictated by a review of history in the days of Machiavel, is eminently confirmed, we think, by the events of our own times. There are nations who cannot be permanently enslaved, and others which cannot be long maintained in the erect posture of freedom. It is often

often no less foolish than it is criminal, in an ambitious sovereign to bear down the unarmed laws of a free people; and sometimes unwise and unjustifiable in an honest patriot to subvert all at once a corrupt or arbitrary government.

These reflections were suggested by the perusal of a curious and interesting work on the French revolution, which has accidentally fallen into our hands. Under the title of Modern Biography, it purports to be a history of all those who, by their rank, their talents, their virtues, and their crimes, have contributed to illustrate, or to disgrace, the end of the last and the commencement of the present century. Before we offer an opinion concerning the execution of so comprehensive a plan, we shall state the circumstances, which, as we are informed, attended the publication of the work in Paris. In the year 1800, a Dictionary, similar in form to the present, but characterized by far greater asperity and boldness, was published in the French capital, and immediately suppressed by the police. The authors seem to have had it in view, to expose the inconsistency of those who had enlisted themselves in the service of the Consular Government, after signalizing themselves by their zeal for a democratical equality. The book, although written in a republican spirit, was particularly levelled at the members of the Convention, and contained much pointed declamation against the leaders and emissaries of the parties which alternately usurped so sanguinary a dominion over their wretched country. In 1806, the undertaking was revived in a shape which it was supposed would prove less obnoxious to the public authorities. The *vitriolic acid*, to use an expression of the author, was wholly extracted; and particular care taken to exclude from the biography of the Imperial family, and of the chief favourites of the monarch, whatever might be offensive. The better to secure themselves from suspicion, they professed, not to pass judgment, but merely to furnish materials for decision; and to embrace, at the same time, the names of all their foreign contemporaries of political note. These sacrifices, however, were not sufficient to propitiate the favour, or lull the vigilance of the police. The authors were punished; and the circulation of their book immediately prohibited. The copy now before us was secreted, and given to the individual from whom it has passed into our hands—with some additional sketches of character, upon the accuracy of which we have reason to think we can depend.

The work is interesting, we think, in various points of view. It presents us with the portraits of beings of whom almost all of us have heard; and whose names we still recal with sensations of astonishment and terror. The biography of foreigners, indeed,

deed, is miserably scanty and erroneous; but this branch evidently appears to have been executed without interest or exertion, and forms a remarkable contrast to the industry and ingenuity which have been exercised in collecting and detailing the opinions of the chief actors in the French Revolution. With regard to this part of the undertaking, too, our own recollections, and our knowledge of the sources of their information, enable us to judge with some confidence of their accuracy. These sources are, the journals of the legislative bodies,—the files of the Moniteur,—the several memoirs published at different times, such as those of Bertrand de Moleville and Bouillé; furnishing a narrative of facts whose exactness cannot be doubted, whatever diversity of opinion may prevail as to the motives and views of individuals and parties. * It may be generally remarked, indeed, of the epoch now under consideration, that its leading occurrences have had more notoriety than those of almost any other. There cannot well be any privacy in the history of a popular revolution,—effected in a great degree by pamphlets and public debates, and consummated by battles and treaties.

It certainly is not our intention to repeat the disgusting catalogue of the miseries and crimes of the French Revolution; but we have thought that a summary review of the career and fate of some of its most conspicuous agents, preceded by a few remarks on the moral and political lessons with which it abounds, might not be without interest, nor perhaps without utility. We know of no period in the whole record of history, which deserves to be so deeply weighed, and so particularly examined, as the interval between the years 1790 and 1800. These few years give us the abridged experience of as many centuries; and never did the

* The memoirs of these two writers are of unquestionable authority. Both deserve credit for much firmness of conduct and purity of intention; and have infused less of passion into their narrative, than might have been expected from their character of leaders and sufferers in the Royal cause. The work of Bertrand de Moleville, although somewhat diffuse, is exceedingly precious as a great body of authentic materials. The historian should particularly add to these works, the *Proces-Verbaux* of the Legislative Assemblies, the "*Tableau Analytique du Moniteur,*" and the History of the War of La Vendée, by Alphonse Beauchamp. *As men*, we blush to acknowledge that these indelible records but too clearly prove, that the savage features of the Convention have not been greatly caricatured by the hand of party.

Tristius haud illis monstrum, &c.

We find that acts of *amnesty* for revolutionary crimes were passed by this body: but they will not be ratified by posterity.

faculties and the passions of civilized man work with so much force, and so little disguise. Those who have lost, and those who have acquired power; the vicissitudes which the nations and governments of Europe have undergone; and the precautions employed to avert the evils of change; are equally subjects for minute research and profound speculation. During the shock of this great convulsion in France, and the conflict of opinions among ourselves, there was no place for calm observation; and the mind was rather bewildered than guided by the light which these astonishing events seemed to throw on the character of our nature. Now that the storm is hushed abroad, and the apprehensions of danger have subsided at home, our conclusions are likely to be more just, and our reflections infinitely more beneficial.

We think, however, that a considerable time must still elapse, before the world will be presented with a suitable history of the causes which accelerated the dissolution of this great monarchy, and so rapidly converted a mild and loyal people into a lawless and frantic mob. Prejudice and resentment are still too powerful to let us hope for an impartial narrative among ourselves; and if we could supply the talents and the temper, the materials would still be wanting. In France, where alone they could be found, the sword is till reeking with blood; the spirit of adulation would suppress, and the unsubdued animosities of faction distort the truth, to which indeed the genius of a military despotism in the minority of its dominion, must be essentially hostile. Hereafter, should our neighbours ever enjoy that *rare felicity* of a free press * —even for the transactions of the past—there may arise some mighty painter, whose pencil shall do justice to the subject. When

* When we consider the real state of the press in France, there is something ludicrous in the mock solemnity with which the *Constitution* provides against its violation. It creates a committee in the Senate, entitled *the Senatorial Committee of the Press.* When authors or printers have to complain of impediments thrown in the way of the circulation of their works, they are entitled to petition this committee. When these obstacles are not conceived by the committee to be rendered necessary by the interests of the state, the Minister to whom they are ascribed is invited to withdraw them. Should they continue to exist after three invitations, the committee demands a general meeting of the Senate, to whom the President formally announces, "that there are strong presumptions that the liberty of the press has been violated." The case is then brought before the High Imperial Court—a judicature for the trial of delinquency in the members of the Imperial family, public functionaries, &c.—the judges of which are the Princes, the Senators, &c.

When we recollect that Tacitus was born in the reign of Nero, and matured in that of Domitian, we are encouraged to hope that history may again have in store some intelligence of the same exalted stamp, to avenge her cause, and to frustrate the efforts which are now made to stifle her voice on the Continent.

Before we enter more particularly upon the contents of these volumes, we must remark, that we are powerfully struck with the novel and imposing spectacle which France exhibited from the time of the Convention until the establishment of the Consular administration—of a country ruled by ephemeral governments, each struggling to maintain itself by every art which fraud could suggest to violence—convulsed to the centre by profligate factions—deluged with native blood—with every atom of society out of its proper place—in a state of absolute bankruptcy—with no regular system of finance—with a paper currency incalculable in amount, and at the last ebb of depreciation—yet still maintaining, with unexampled success, a war which cost more blood and treasure than any ever known in modern times—supporting at different periods fourteen different armies on a vast establishment—lavishing great sums in largesses at home and subsidies abroad—and, finally, triumphing over all her Continental enemies, and settling down in an organization civil and military, which threatens the subjugation of the world.* During a crisis when, both within and without, the state appeared

* 'The republic maintained fourteen different armies. The troops 'paid were estimated at fourteen hundred thousand. The front of 'the troops defending her on the East occupied a line of five hun-'dred leagues, extending from the Adriatic to the mouth of the 'Ems in the North Sea. Forty sous were paid, for some time, to 'the individuals who frequented the popular societies. The theatres 'of Paris were hired to give gratuitous exhibitions (*de part et pour 'le peuple.*) Succours were given to large districts. Bread, which 'cost eight sous the pound, in hard money, was distributed almost 'for nothing to the inhabitants of Paris. The National Convention, 'in the midst of the revolutionary whirlwind, had no system of fi-'nance, and could have none.' (*Ramel, Histoire des Fin. de la Republique.*) This writer was himself Minister of Finance at the period of which he speaks. He states the issue of assignats to have amounted to 40,000,000,000, of which only 12,000,000,000 were withdrawn from circulation; and at the epoch of their cessation, 100 francs, in assignats, were valued at 3 sous in coin! a proportion of $\frac{1}{666}$. The manufacture of this paper currency, the history of which is unparralleled, occupied 800 workmen, who sometimes printed, numbered, and stamped from 2 to 3 millions of francs a day. During the six years of their currency, the annual revenue was about 300 million francs. These sums were applied to the purchase of neutrality and

appeared to be rushing furiously to destruction—when, to use the rhetorical language of one of her representatives, the sons of freedom were encountering all the malignity of fortune abroad, and the Revolution, like Saturn, was devouring her own children at home, not a single indication of despondency was given by her rulers; nor, during the various devolutions of public authority, did there seem to be any abatement of enthusiasm, or any remission of energy in furnishing the means of resistance to foreign aggression. The fortune of the Republic was never once entrusted to the issue of a single battle; nor was the execution of their plans either relinquished or adjourned in consequence of new appearances of danger, or an increase in the number of their opponents. The Senate of Rome, under the pressure of adversity, never displayed a more magnanimous feeling, nor assumed a more imposing attitude, nor hurled defiance in a prouder tone, than the revolutionary government in a season of the most alarming disasters. While we bitterly deplore the excesses of a people intoxicated with the first draughts of anarchy, and express our detestation for the crimes of the most horrible of all despotisms—that which wears the mask of liberty—it is impossible not to admire the splendid military achievements of that period, the steady confidence in the cause, and the ardent attachment to liberty manifested on the scaffold even by those who fell victims to the abuse of her name—the numerous instances of heroic death afforded both by royalists and republicans—not inferior to those upon which the historians of antiquity dwell with so much delight. "Laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus." We are but little disposed to be the apologists of the French Revolution, but we cannot consent to qualify all this as fanaticism—or to reprobate all those as Jacobins, who believe, that even the members of that school have occasionally displayed a spirit which confers dignity on human nature. If France had after all worked out her salvation—if *liberty* had survived these furious struggles, we should consider mankind as gainers. Her own losses would have been retrieved—her crimes might have been forgotten: but it is of all reflections the most lamentable, that the issue which is now before our eyes, has not only rendered her redemption hopeless, but has dishonoured the cause of freedom, which is now throughout the universe made responsible for her miscarriage.

In this country, it has been but too much the fathion to point the moral of this Revolution one way, without adverting to the awful

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alliance abroad. In a curious report made to the Convention on this subject by St Just, the Court of Constantinople alone is said to have cost 70 millions of francs in diamonds and gold!

awful warning which it holds out, as well to rulers as to ſubjects. The pride of the Patrician may be inſtructed by this cataſtrophe, no leſs than the jealouſy of the Plebeian. In the utter annihilation of the old hereditary diſtinctions, and the ruin of the great proprietaries of France, there is aſſuredly ſomething fitted to alarm and to improve the ariſtocracy of rank and wealth of all countries. Necker ſtates in his book on finance, that there were ſeven thouſand pedigrees carefully depoſited in the Royal Library of Paris;—and we will not undertake to conjecture how many title-deeds of extenſive patrimony might have been found upon the judicial records. If we ſhould aſk, why it is, that theſe no longer exiſt?—we muſt not be told, that the wreck of title, of fortune, and of royal power, was owing to the mere perverſity of the people, or to the unprovoked ſpirit of faction. The people may unjuſtly and capriciouſly deſert an individual contending againſt the power of a government, but will never abandon a government which has honeſtly laboured to deſerve and to ſecure their affections. If thoſe who were upon 'the ſlippery heights' of the kingdom of France, had been leſs confident of their ſecurity, and more attentive to the progreſs of public opinion;—if the privileged orders had diſcarded in time their habits of luxurious indolence, and zealouſly cooperated to eaſe the burdens, and to ameliorate the condition of the lower claſſes,—to promote *economical* reforms,—to reſtore order to the finances,—to purify the civil liſt,—and to reſtrain the cupidity of courtiers;*—if the royal princes had not, by their prodigality and their exceſſes, offended even the decorum of vice;—if the experiment had been fully tried—of *a popular minister seconded by a patriotic king*, they might have ſtood firm upon the baſis of their own authority,—in ſpite of all the machinations of philoſophers and deiſts, encyclopediſts and levellers, to whom their misfortunes are ſo piouſly and loyally aſcribed. When Lepelletier, preſident of the parliament of Paris, adviſed the recal of Necker, it was with this exclamation—Repreſentons le peuple, de peur qu'il ne ſe repreſente lui même! 'Let us repreſent the people, leſt they ſhould repreſent themſelves.'

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* 'Le livre rouge,—la prodigalité des princes,—l'énormité de la 'liste civile,—l'insatiable cupidité des courtisans et des agens des 'menus plaisirs, voilà la racine du mal,' &c. (*Observ. sur la Rev.*) 'I am convinced,' says Necker, 'that an habitual residence at 'Versailles weakens, in an administration of the finances, the in'clination and ambition to undertake great things;—there he sees 'vanities rated so high, and such a deep interest taken in the game 'of ambition and intrigue, that he loses sight of the true value of 'every thing that is worthy of esteem.'

One of the chief cauſes of the atrocious character which the Revolution aſſumed, is to be found in the apathy or puſillanimity of thoſe who were moſt deeply intereſted in the preſervation of order, and beſt able to faſhion public ſentiment. The greater part of theſe men, at the commencement of the conteſt, either looked on with indifference—or ſhrunk back in diſmay—or conſented to purchaſe a momentary ſecurity at the expenſe of honour and conſcience. Had the men of moderate views and local influence, when the dangers of anarchy were but too apparent, ſtood bravely forward, and united to combat the deſigns of faction, they might have ſet bounds to the fury of a tempeſt which they could not wholly avert. Their irreſolution ſerved only to embolden the audacity of the turbulent, and their precipitate flight to confirm the dominion of the mob. * The law of Solon, which enacted, that the citizen who, in a period of civil commotion, did not ſide with one or other of the contending parties, ſhould forfeit his eſtate, and be for ever baniſhed the commonwealth, extraordinary as it may at firſt appear, is nevertheleſs founded in correct views of human nature, and has a tendency not to foment, but to appeaſe diſſenſion. In ſuch a conjuncture, an attention to petty intereſts leads to total ruin; and the neutrality of the good only widens the field for thoſe profligate paſſions, and deſperate projects, which the ferment of diſcontent naturally calls into action. That ferment can, however, in no degree be allayed by an obſtinate adherence to palpable corruptions. When we inculcate the neceſſity of a prompt and perſevering exertion of that influence which always accompanies preſcriptive authority, perſonal character, and honeſt intentions,—it is with a full perſuaſion, that they never can be ſucceſsful over the unremitting activity of the fiends of diſcord, unleſs attended by a ready concurrence in the reformation of abuſes,—by timely conceſſions,—and by temperate and conciliatory language. If the war of extermination ſo long waged in the boſom of France, yield one ſalutary caution to all orders of men, it is—that they ſhould be ſparing in the application of general terms of reproach or contumelious epithets of party. The uſe made in that unfortunate country of the words *Jacobin* and *Ariſtocrat*, abundantly proves, that what at firſt is but looſely or petulantly thrown out as a mark of ridicule or diſtinction, not only ſerves to ſwell the number, and exaſperate the

* Vide *Aul. Gell. in Noct. Attic. lib.* 2. *c.* 12.—'Boni neſcio,' ſays Cicero, 'quomodo tardiores ſunt et principiis rerum neglectis ad extremum ipſa denique neceſſitate excitantur—ita ut nonnunquam cunctatione ac tarditate, dum otium volunt, etiam ſine dignitate retinere, ipſi utrumque amittant.'—(*Pro Sextio.*)

the reſentment of parties, but may be converted into an engine of the moſt furious and ſanguinary proſcription. *

Among the moſt ſtriking leſſons which are taught by the hiſtory of this Revolution, is the profound oblivion into which multitudes have already fallen, who were once objects either of terror or pity to the whole nation. Theſe volumes contain, not only the catalogue of thoſe who, in the face of the world, ſwore eternal hatred to Royalty, and are now the moſt prominent agents of deſpotiſm, but the names alſo of a hoſt of clamorous politicians and writers of vaſt importance in their day, whoſe influence and notoriety are now buried, without the poſſibility of reſuſcitation. It is remarkable alſo, how active a ſhare was taken in the tumults of the time by the mere men of ſcience and letters, and to what 'illuſtrious dignities' many of *them* have attained under the auſpices of a martial monarch. Doubtleſs, the nature of their purſuits inclined them to eſpouſe with eagerneſs the cauſe of freedom; but the part they have ultimately choſen leads us to ſuſpect, that their zeal was animated by a wiſh to govern—πολίτευεσθαι, in the firſt inſtance,—and that, in the miſcarriage of their hopes, they have not been inſenſible to the conſolations of what Mr Burke ſo emphatically terms 'the groſs lucre and fat emoluments of ſervitude.'

In the number of diſtinguiſhed Royaliſts who have returned to breathe the air of their native country, we obſerve but few however who hold any public truſts. Their ſituation neceſſarily exacts the affectation at leaſt of a cheerful acquieſcence in the preſent order of things;—thoſe who are in the capital, either from fear or inclination, contribute to ſwell the pomp of the Imperial Court, and to enliven the drawing-rooms of the new nobility. But in the merit of conſiſtency, they are certainly ſuperior to their republican antagoniſts. The apoſtaſy of the latter, might, nevertheleſs, admit of many palliatives. Thoſe who once wore the *bonnet rouge*, ſhould not indeed oſtentatiouſly diſplay the livery of a deſpot; but it muſt be acknowledged, that the eſtabliſhment of his power was beyond their controul. France had reached a criſis, when the abſolute ſway of an individual was rendered neceſſary, and perhaps deſirable, even for ſuch as ſighed, with diſintereſted zeal,

* The list of political denominations introduced during the conflict of parties, and employed for the purpose of mutual destruction, deserves to be reported. Anarchistes, Aristocrates, Babouvistes, Brissotins, Chouans, Clichiens, Contre-revolutionaires, Cordeliers, Dantonistes, Federalistes, Feuillans, Girondins, Hebatistes, Jacobins, Maratistes, Moderés, Montagnards, Orleanistes, Reactionnaires, Sansculottes, Septembriseurs, Theophilantropes, Terroristes, Thermidoriens, Vendéens, &c.

zeal, after the bleſſings of freedom. Every man of judgment had become ſenſible of the hopeleſsneſs of their firſt purſuit; and it muſt be needleſs to ſuggeſt, that the preponderance of the military, left no choice, even of evils, to the civil authority. During the paroxyſms of the Revolution, the officers of the army either caught the contagion of republican ſentiments, or ſaw the neceſſity of profeſſing them; but their allegiance was much more naturally and readily paid to a victorious general, than to the bloody phantom of a republic.

At the establishment of the Conſular government, in order to colour the first uſurpation, the forms of a free conſtitution were preſerved; and it was even deemed expedient, to introduce into the new legislative bodies the leading republicans of the old. To make this, however, as little dangerous as poſſible, it was provided, that one fifth of the members of the Legislative Aſſembly ſhould be annually replaced. The process of excluding this proportion is entitled *elimination;* and we obſerve, that during the firſt years, the lot regularly fell upon thoſe who continued to aſſert their original doctrines, or who indicated a diſpoſition to ſcrutinize the views, and reſiſt the encroachments, of the First Conſul. The Tribunate, which was found the moſt democratical and reſtive branch of the legislature, was ſoon pared down to the number of fifty, and finally abolished. Still, however, the legislature, the great offices of ſtate, the prefectures of the departments, and the judicial employments particularly, are filled by men who took an active part in promoting the Revolution. Their enmity might have endangered the ſtability of the new Sovereign—their influence and their talents were neceſſary for the erection of that vaſt and regular ſyſtem of adminiſtration which was projected—their diſſenſions, and their venality, rendered them an eaſy conqueſt. Under a general view of human nature, the policy was wiſe; for men, who, in the commencement of a reign, believe themſelves ſuſpected, would naturally wiſh to blazon their fidelity,—to counteract the prejudice ariſing from their character, by particular zeal and activity in the diſcharge of their new functions. The event at leaſt has, in this inſtance, juſtified this ſuppoſition.

Wherever diſaffection was openly expreſſed, the individual was either exiled into the remote departments, or placed under the particular ſupervision of the police. This plan is ſtill purſued. An auſtere and jealous vigilance is now exerciſed over the *unreclaimed* republicans, and particularly over the royaliſts, who are objects of much greater ſuſpicion and apprehenſion. Although a ſyſtem of intimidation, beyond our powers of deſcription, is extended over all the ſubjects of the empire, the inſtances of ſtudied oppreſſion,

oppression, or of immoderate rigour, in the civil administration, have certainly been few;—much fewer indeed than might have been expected, when we consider how fierce and delirious was the anarchy to which this formal and omnipotent despotism has succeeded. Within the last three or four years, since the leading patriots, either corrupted by the fortune, or overawed by the power, of their new ruler, have consummated their apostasy, his favour has been somewhat diverted to those who adhered, as far as the temper of the Revolution would allow, to the *mezzo termine*, or whose revolutionary career was marked by a degree of moderation. Some expansion too is occasionally permitted to those bitter enmities which still rankle among the victims and agents of party violence, and every indulgence for the disclosure of such traits as serve to aggravate the infamy, and elucidate the views of the factions into which the Convention was divided. The policy of indulging, to a certain extent, this war of recrimination, is obvious, and highly serviceable. The prostration of all the adverse parties is a triumph for each: the humiliation of their adversaries gratifies their private hate, and reconciles them to the evils of their own condition. It is worthy of remark, that this feeling of our nature operated to strengthen even the dominion of Robespierre. France, rent and exhausted by the conflicts of the different factions, seemed to be less miserable under one tyrant, and to rejoice at a tyranny which was indiscriminately exercised. The royalists appeared grateful for the vengeance which he inflicted on his revolutionary colleagues; and it is doubtful whether the savage reign of this detestable monster might not have been prolonged, had he not driven his own instruments to desperation, by his insatiable thirst for blood.

It is easy to imagine, that the despotism of Bonaparte, notwithstanding the misery of which it must be productive, must have other supports than that of the military force. We cannot find colours sufficiently vivid, to paint the appalling image which the Revolution has left in the minds of the moderate and timid portion of the community. There is a morbid sensibility on this head, which astonishes even those who give full credit to every disastrous tale of suffering and barbarity to which this event has given birth. For multitudes, therefore, the actual exemption from revolutionary massacres and alarms is a state of comparative beatitude; and the possibility of their recurrence far more formidable than any existing evil. The minute subdivision of property which we noticed in a former number, has created a great body of new proprietaries, who would hazard more than they could hope to gain by any change. The government, moreover, has studiously multiplied offices, to a degree highly burdensome no doubt to the

the people, but which interests in its support, a host of dependants, whose allegiance is secured by present benefits, and whose zeal is stimulated by the hope of future rewards. The additional splendour with which the new despotism is daily invested—the stately affectation and ostentatious pageantry of the imperial court, are not to be ascribed to the workings of mere vanity, but to views of profound policy. By the formation of a numerous state-hierarchy,—by lengthening the chain of subordination,—by multiplying the titles, and dividing the substance of power,—new ties and interests are produced, which augment the influence and enlarge the foundations of the throne. Such a system is every way adapted to the temper of the people. The more ceremonious the servitude, the sooner will every vestige of republican feeling be obliterated. The spirit of freedom soon disappears with the characteristic simplicity of its institutions.

Although we are far from believing, that either Bonaparte or his government is now popular, in the usual acceptation of the term, we can readily conceive, that the reflecting part of the nation may have many inducements to uphold his authority. Experience has taught them the unfitness of their country for any other than an absolute government, and the necessity, at this moment, of a system of rigorous coercion. Dreadful as is the domestic police, there is no man acquainted with the actual state of society in France, who does not see the impossibility of preserving order without some such inquisition. Detestable, too, and dangerous as is the genius of their government, it cannot be without some merit in the eyes of *Frenchmen*. Under the shade of the Imperial purple, most of the elegant pleasures of the mind, and some of the generous sympathies of the heart, are suffered to flourish, and may be almost considered as a new creation. From a state of total disorganization, of the most destructive civil war, France has been restored, by the provident ambition of her new rulers, to the enjoyment of many of the advantages of of a well-regulated community. Their labours to establish a regular administration of justice and of the finances, and to form some system at least of public instruction, are not without their utility; although, as we are informed, they have not as yet proved eminently successful. Their plan of conquest, too, although it has deluged the neighbouring countries with blood, has preserved their own territory from becoming the theatre of war. The improvements in the roads,—the rapid construction of public works,—the numerous institutions for the encouragement of national industry,—the embellishments of the capital,—the ostentatious protection extended to the sciences and to the fine arts,—all involve solid advantages, while they spring from the comprehensive

hensive and truly Machiavelian wisdom of an ambitious despot. In making these remarks, we allude to the condition in which he found France; and must not be understood as retracting the opinions which we formerly delivered, with regard to the perniciou consequences likely to result, both to her and to the world, from the foreign policy of his government. Under this point of view, we are ready to exclaim with the poet,

Ας απολοίτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

We shall now present our readers with such a selection of the notices and anecdotes contained in these volumes, as our limits will allow. The first are instances of a flexibility of conscience or of judgment, not often paralleled—even in the world of politics.

Grégoire, whose name is so conspicuous in the annals of the Revolution, is now a member of the Senate and of the Legion of Honour. He was born near Luneville, in 1750; and, after serving as a curate, was deputed to the States-General, and was among the first of those of the clerical order who passed down to the lower chamber. On the 8th of July, 1789, he declaimed against the march of the troops which the King had ordered to approach Paris, and exclaimed, 'that if Frenchmen ever consented to become slaves, they should be despised as the refuse of nations.' On the 5th October, he described the King as surrounded by the enemies of the people,—denounced M. de Bouillé,—and asked, why it was that Paris, after an abundant harvest, was driven to insurrection by the want of food. The ministers were less able to answer this question than the Duke of Orleans; but the object of the orator was, to exasperate the populace against the court, by this insidious accusation. Grégoire was the first ecclesiastic who took the constitutional oath. In return, he obtained the bishopric of Blois, and soon after became President of the Assembly. At the period of the King's flight, he pronounced a violent invective against the Monarch, and called for an immediate trial. In September 1792, he was delegated to the Convention, and soon after made and carried a motion for the abolition of royalty,—declaring, at the same time, 'that Kings were, in the moral order of things, what monsters are in the physical, and that their history was the martyrology of nations.' On the 15th November, he pronounced a violent philippic against Louis XVI., and requested that he might be arraigned without delay. He was then made President of the Convention; and, having proposed the incorporation of Savoy with France, was sent to organize that country, under the name of the Department of Mont Blanc. As the King was tried during his absence, he did not vote; but wrote, concurrently with his colleagues, to announce to the Assembly, 'that, under a conviction of the unremitting

treachery

treachery of that perjured Monarch, he solicited his condemnation without an appeal to the people.' In 1793, he invited Barrere to retract the eulogy which he had pronounced on Louis the Twelfth, and undertook to prove, that this pretended father was, in fact, the scourge of his people. On the 7th November, however, he loudly condemned Gobel for abjuring the Christian religion and his episcopal functions. He was then accused by Bourdon de l'Oise, of wishing to *Christianize* the Revolution, (Christianiser la Revolution.) On the 4th of March, 1794, he read to the Assembly an original letter, as he stated it to be, of Charles the Ninth, recommending that a recompense should be given for the assassination of the Constable of Mouy; and this letter he proposed to have enrolled among the national archives, 'in order that its publicity might aggravate the abhorrence which nations should feel for Kings.' In April, he tendered to the Convention some historical researches concerning the tree of liberty. In September 1795, he became one of the Council of Five Hundred. After the 18th Brumaire, (December 1799), he was elected to the Legislative Body, of which he was nominated President in February 1800. On the 25th December, 1801, he was appointed a member of the Conservative Senate, and decorated with the insignia of the Legion of Honour. Grégoire has published a great variety of works, and now divides his time between literary pursuits and the routine of his political station, which he fills with much apparent satisfaction. However reprehensible for the violence of his revolutionary opinions, he deserves no small credit for the energy with which, during the worst periods, he defended, and for the zeal with which he has uniformly protected, the cause of science and literature. At this moment, his house is the favourite rendezvous of many of the most distinguished *savans* of the French capital; and, in private life, there are few men of more amiable character, or more winning manners.

The next name we shall select is that of *Garat,* originally a mere man of letters, now a member of the Legion of Honour, of the Institute, and of the Senate, and Professor of History in the Lyceum of Paris. He was sent to the States-General from Labour; in 1798 was made Minister of Justice, and, as such, acquainted the King with his condemnation. This task he executed, according to Bertrand de Moleville, with great barbarity. In March 1793, he became Minister of the Interior. At a sitting of the Jacobins on the 16th July of that year, he was complimented by Danton on the important services which he had rendered the cause. He soon after abdicated his ministry, and announced his intention to edite a republican journal.' He was, within

within a short time, twice arrested, but saved by the activity of his friends. In 1797, he published an elaborate epistle addressed to La Harpe, with a view to demonstrate the utility of persevering in the use of the term Citizen. In 1798, he went as ambassador to Naples; but soon rendered himself obnoxious by the warmth of his republican principles, and returned to take a seat in the Council of Antients. He became President of this body in 1799, and pronounced a discourse on the anniversary of the King's death. He cooperated zealously in the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, and announced the adoption of the Consular government, in an encomiastic speech. In 1806, he delivered, before the Senate, a long and florid oration on the victories of the Emperor Napoleon, and now shares largely both in the favour and the munificence of his master.

There are few names of more note, in the revolutionary annals, than that of *Merlin de Douai.* He passed from the Bar to the States-General in 1789, and was conspicuously active in promoting all the popular measures of that period. After the session, he became President of the Criminal Tribunal of the Department of the North, and was delegated to the Convention in 1792; but, on arriving in Paris, found himself implicated in an accusation relating to some papers seized in the Thuileries. He appeared at the Bar on the 7th December, and justified himself by proving, 'that he had never committed the crime of wishing to serve Louis the Sixteenth.' He voted for his death; and, in 1793, procured the enactment of a law against suspicious persons; which crowded the prisons throughout France with numberless victims, of all conditions and parties. He afterwards went under the name of *Merlin the Suspicious.* In 1794, he became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and was among the most active of that body for a long period. On the 14th November, the Directory appointed him Minister of Justice, and, in January 1796, Minister of Police. He succeeded Barthelemy as a member of the Directory, and acquired a great ascendancy over his colleagues. After having shared the supreme power for some time with Barras and Rewbel, he was compelled to resign, and had the good fortune to escape unhurt from the accusations preferred against him on all sides. After officiating as attorney-general in the Court of Cassation, he became a member of the Legion of Honour in 1804; and, in 1806, was made a Counsellor of State. Carnot said of this man, in his Memoir, 'that he marched steadily in the revolutionary line, and never swerved from his principles.' His present situation is the best commentary on this panegyric. He must not, however, be confounded with another of the same name, *Merlin de Thionville,* one of the most indefatigable and relentless monsters

of the Revolution. The latter, originally a sheriff's officer, announced, to the Convention, that he had no other accusation to prefer against his own revolutionary conduct, than that of having neglected to poignard Louis XVI. on the 10th of August. Although among the prominent leaders of the Republican party, he eluded the persecutions to which they were alternately subject, and is now in the quiet enjoyment of an immense fortune, accumulated by every species of rapine and violence.

Merlin de Thionville was intimately connected with *Chabot*, the celebrated Capuchin, in whose life there are some singular traits. In consequence of his 'ardent patriotism,' he became the curate of Grégoire; and, until he was executed in 1794, was in the first rank of incendiaries. In the course of July 1792, he caused himself to be wounded by six men hired for the purpose, in order that the King might be accused of an attempt at assassination. It is credibly stated, that he urged Merlin with the most serious and pressing instances to assassinate him; and to have his body transported to the Faubourgs, in order to kindle the fury of the mob, and to expedite the destruction of the monarchy. He, on one occasion, summoned the Convention, of which he was a member, to swear, 'that, profoundly convinced of the vices of all kings, they would for ever detest them. The whole Assembly rose, and replied, '*Nous le jurons; plus de Roi!*' He requested also that a new law might be framed concerning emigrants, 'so simple, that a child might send an emigrant to the guillotine.' The *liaisons* of Merlin with this man and Bazire, a worthy coadjutor, gave rise to the following *jeu d'esprit.*

'Connoissez-vous rien de plus sot,
Que Merlin, Bazire et Chabot?
Non: Je ne connois rien de pire
Que Merlin, Chabot et Bazire;
Et personne n'est plus coquin
Que Chabot, Bazire et Merlin.' &c.

Jean Debry, associated in the French mission to the congress of Rastadt with Roberjot and Bonnier, whose mysterious assassination created so lively a sensation throughout Europe, is now a senator, a dignitary of the Legion of Honour, and prefect of the department of Doubs. He was originally a delegate to the Legislative Assembly, and a coryphæus of the popular party. No man evinced, on all occasions, a more acrimonious and active hostility to priests and kings, whom he constantly denounced as the *feculence and putrefaction of the human race.* At his instigation the Assembly decreed, that Monsieur, the brother of the King, had forfeited his right to the crown, in consequence of

of disobedience to the laws on the subject of emigration. On the 20th of June 1792, he prevented the Assembly from entertaining a question which tended to the prevention of the notour attacks made on the palace of the Thuileries, and signalized himself, by his exertions, to promote the memorable affair of the 10th of August. On the 20th of the same month, he proposed the formation of a corps of *Tyrannicides*, whose sole duty it should be, to single out and to destroy the kings at war with France, and the generals who commanded their armies. He soon after moved, that a reward of 100,000 francs should be given to the person who should bring to the Assembly the heads of Francis II., the Duke of Brunswick, and 'all the other beasts who resembled them.' He voted for the death of the King; became a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and procured the establishment of a Committee of Supervision throughout France, which gave birth to the Revolutionary Tribunals, so celebrated for the atrocity of their proceedings.

After a zealous and efficient cooperation in the violent and sanguinary measures of the time, he became, in the year 1796, a member of the Council of Five Hundred,—was elected secretary, and soon after president of that body. In 1798, he presented a report on the necessity of infusing new life and vigour into their republican institutions, in which the following, among other sentiments, are to be remarked. 'If we must have a superstition, let us have that of liberty,—the fanaticism of liberty, if we can. There is no philosophy without patriotism,—no genius but in a republican soul. The sacred love of liberty is one of the noblest characteristics of talent, as well as of virtue,' &c. In 1798, he was sent as minister-plenipotentiary to Rastadt, and, on his return, was wounded in the attack made upon the French legation. On his arrival at Paris, he made his appearance in the Council of Antients, with his arm in a sling, and invoked the vengeance of the nation on the House of Austria. At the sitting of the 19th June, consecrated to the memory of Bonnier and Robertjot, the President solemnly addressed Jean Debry in this way. 'You live. The task of proclaiming your merits belongs to posterity. It is our province to avenge your wrongs.' Debry made this reply. 'I swear by the manes of my unfortunate colleagues, that I will rather share their fate than be unfaithful to this republic;—without which, nothing remains for us but to die.' It was then decreed, that the seat of Robertjot, who had been a member, should be covered with black crape; and that, until it was filled, the President should, whenever his name was read from the roll, pronounce these words. 'May the fate of the French mini-

sters assassinated at Rastadt be retorted upon the House of Austria!' After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, Jean Debry became a member of the Tribunate; and, in 1800, pronounced a panegyric on the First Consul, and a speech in honour of the victory of Marengo. He has since seconded and applauded all the measures of the new government, and is now among the most ardent admirers of '*those transcendent qualities which belong to the whole* "*Imperial race.*" During the revolution, this man was remarked for the acrimony of his invectives against the emigrants, and those who had voted for the banishment of the king. Among the latter, many were induced to pronounce that judgment, from a conviction, that by no other expedient could the life of the monarch be saved. Others, who aimed at the destruction of the monarchy, were nevertheless subdued by the virtuous and beneficent character of the Sovereign. Their lenity proved fatal to themselves, by marking them out as objects of suspicion and vengeance to the more sanguinary republicans. One of the opinions delivered on this subject, by a member of the name of Alasseur, deserves to be mentioned, as exhibiting a curious *rapprochement*. It was expressed in this way. 'Rome banished her 'kings, and remained free. Cæsar was assassinated by Brutus, 'and had a successor. The English destroyed their tyrant, but 'resumed their chains. I think, therefore, that to preserve li-'berty, Louis should be banished.' Many of the members who voted for the punishment of death, expressed their opinion in a manner too shockingly barbarous to be related. One of them remarked, that, long before the Revolution, 'he had conceived 'and treasured up that vote *in his heart.*' It is said of another, of the name of Le Jeune, that he had small guillotines made for the purpose of decapitating the poultry used at his table; that he used them to cut his fruit; and never failed to point out to his guests *the general utility of the machine.*

Cochon, whose name must be familiar to all our readers, is now Prefect of the Netherlands, and a member of the Legion of Honour. After voting for the death of the King, and cooperating in all the excesses of the time, he was sent as Commissary of the Convention, to the army of the North, and assisted with distinguished courage at the siege of Valenciennes, the capitulation of which he attributed to the treachery of the inhabitants, in his report to the Convention. He became, in 1794, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and in 1795, accompanied the army of the North to Holland. In the following year, the Directory appointed him Minister of Police, a situation in which he was found eminently useful; in detecting and baffling the conspiracies of Babœuf and of the camp of Grenelle, where four hundred

dred Jacobins were cut to pieces, conformably to his arrangements with the commanding officer. In 1797, he denounced and brought to trial, several emissaries of the Bourbons; and stated, in his report of the trial, 'that he knew not to what he was to attribute the *odious distinction* of being placed in their list of the ministers who were to be retained after the revival of the monarchy,' with this additional remark, 'that he had voted for the death of the King.' He soon after swore to combat the enemies of the republic, of whatever party; and, in a report against the refractory priests, accused them of corrupting the public mind. He was afterwards dismissed by the Directory, and included among the *déportés*; but had proceeded no further than the island of Oleron, when the revolution of the 18th Brumaire took place. He returned; and was immediately admitted to the favour of the new government, of which he is now a zealous supporter.

The polished courtesy and peculiar softnesss of manner by which Cochon is distinguished in private life, are strikingly contrasted with the intemperance of his political career. He was originally an advocate, and unites considerable literary attainments to an uncommon share of sagacity and industry. The Government have associated with him at Antwerp, in the capacity of *Maritime Prefect*, *Malouet*, who sustained so courageously and ably, the falling fortunes of the monarchy, and who emigrated to this country in the year 1792. The latter enjoyed much of the confidence of Louis XVI.; and when the intended trial of that Monarch was known in London, wrote to the Executive Council, to request that he might be permitted to undertake his defence before the Convention;—a trait of loyalty which deserves to be recorded. On his return to France, after the affair of the 18th Brumaire, he was at first arrested by the police, but soon obtained his release; and in 1803 was chosen by the Government to fill his present station. It was expected that these men, by the attractions of their society, and the mildness of their administration, would have been able to conciliate the inhabitants of Antwerp; but such was the general antipathy to the French dominion, that even in 1807, they had not succeeded in establishing a social intercourse with more than two or three of the principal personages of the department. With the exception of Malouet, Mounier, Ségur, Alexandre, La Rochefoucault, and Cardinal Maury, but few of the distinguished royalists have enlisted themselves in the service of the new dynasty. Ségur, who at various times, acted as a foreign minister under the *ancien régime*, is now a counsellor of state, and grand master of ceremonies at the imperial court. Mounier died in 1806, at Paris, after having become a senator and prefect of one of the departments. Prince

Ferdinand de Rohan, formerly archbishop of Cambray, is now almoner of the empress.

Cardinal Maury retired from the first tumults of the Revolution to Rome, where he obtained his cardinal's hat. In 1805, he addressed a letter to the Emperor Napoleon, signifying his wish to return to France, and to recognize the new government. In the month of June of that year, he was presented to the monarch at Genoa, and much gratified by his reception. He was soon after appointed almoner to Prince Jerome, and obtained a bishoprick. He is now resident in Paris, professing himself to be warmly devoted to the interests of the reigning family. In the month of May, he was received as a Member of the Institute, and delivered on that occasion an elaborate discourse.—No occurrence of the kind ever excited more curiosity in the capital, or drew a more numerous auditory.—His reputation as the first orator of the *Côté droit*, and the formidable rival of Mirabeau; the unshaken courage and persevering energy with which he once defended the throne of the Bourbons, and his recent defection from their cause, on which he was expected to touch, gave an extraordinary interest to his first public exhibition. His hearers, however, retired fatigued and disgusted with a dull and prolix harangue, remarkable only for the fulsome adulation which it offered to the Imperial family. Those who recollected him preaching before the King, his benefactor, or asserting in the National Assembly the rights of his order, with such force of argument, and so captivating an elocution, had the mortification to find, that his manner was stripped of all the charms with which it was once invested; and that, with the dignity of his character, he had lost the fire of his genius, and the lustre of his eloquence.

The name of *Mirabeau* is so often conjoined with that of *Maury*, that we are naturally led to turn to the article which treats of the former. The accounts of this extraordinary man are already so voluminous, that it would be superfluous to indulge in any details. The disorders of his private life, and the extraordinary inflictions to which they exposed him, enter not into our present subject. It is sufficient to say, that, being rejected at the first election for the States-General by the noblesse of Provence, he hired a shop, and inscribed on his sign, 'Mirabeau, draper.' He succeeded as a candidate for the third estate, and, at the court of Versailles, passed under the designation of the *plebeian count*. He soon signalized himself in the tribune by the powers of his invective, and the sagacity with which he analyzed every question of public interest agitated in the Assembly. His first connexion was with the Duke of Orleans, whom he abandoned, after making a liberal use of his purse. His frequent overtures to the King,

King, satisfactorily prove, that he sought popularity only to acquire a more arbitrary dominion over the court. It was not until near the end of the session, after a fiery and turbulent opposition, which is too well known to require any description, and when he had obtained an unrivalled ascendancy over the popular party, that his services were accepted by the court, his debts paid, and a pension allowed him. It does not appear, that he at any time contemplated the possibility of establishing a democracy in France; but it is certain that, after his desertion to the court, he had formed the plan of dissolving a legislature, which he soon found wholly untractable. * His death frustrated the execution of this scheme —perhaps the only one which could have saved the monarchy. The address with which he contrived to promote his own views, by appearing to second those of his old confederates, the energy and splendour of his declamation, are all calculated to inspire the highest idea of his powers, and to awaken a lively regret, that an intelligence almost stupendous should have been conjoined with a depravity of morals scarcely to be paralleled. The mechanism of his oratory is said, by all those who knew him, to have corresponded to the force and brilliancy of his expression. His works, some of which are detestably licentious, display a profound knowledge of human nature, and deep research; but are written in a loose, luxuriant style, and in much too declamatory a tone. He died at the early age of forty-two, declaring 'that he carried the monarchy away with him.' It was a favourite phrase of his, in allusion to the versatility of the mob, 'that the distance was but small from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock.'

* We find the opinions which Mr Burke has expressed in his 'Letter on the French Revolution,' concerning the composition of this Assembly, confirmed in these volumes, by a very remarkable testimony. They mention a farmer of the name of Gerard, who was introduced as a member of the States-General, for the purpose of conciliating the people of his district, by making one of themselves a representative of the nation. He was wholly without education, and in manners and dress a mere peasant, but with much honesty and good sense to compensate for his exterior. In writing to his constituents, he expressed himself in this way. 'What can I do in the 'midst of a crowd of pettyfogging lawyers and attorneys, who be-'lieve they know every thing, and look upon themselves as the most 'important branch of the legislature, although they have not an 'inch of ground under the sun, and can only gain by the total sub-'version of the existing order of things?' One of the orators of the Assembly terminated a long speech, by asking Gerard what he thought of the Assembly. 'I think,' said Gerard, rising in his place, and looking very gravely around him, 'I think there are a 'great many scoundrels among us.'

Mirabeau had a younger brother, the *Viscompte*, of a character nearly as depraved as his own, and gifted with uncommon powers of wit and ridicule,—which he wielded to the great annoyance of the popular party. His brother said of him, that, in any other family, the Viscompte would have been considered as a profligate; but that, in theirs, he was a prodigy of virtue. During the tumults, to which the question of confiscating the property of the clergy gave rise, in the Constituent Assembly, the younger brother apologized for the vehemence of his manner, by stating, 'that, in that Assembly, he found the logic of the lungs as necessary as any other species of dialectics.' When the elder Mirabeau reproached him with indulging in habits of intoxication, his reply was, 'What can you complain of? Of all the vices of any importance, you have left me no distinctive one but that.' He emigrated, and died at Fribourg in 1792, after serving with distinction, under the orders of the Prince of Condé.

In the number of those who have stood foremost in the revolutionary ranks, there is perhaps no individual, whose character or history is more interesting than that of CARNOT. He is the only one of the whole list of Republicans, who has adhered to their former principles, and in whose character and manners the new order of things appears to have wrought no change. He entered, at an early age, into the corps of engineers, and owed his advancement to the favour of the Prince of Condé. Some mathematical essays and light verses acquired him a certain degree of reputation before the Revolution. He was a captain of engineers at the commencement of the troubles; and, in 1791, was deputed to the legislature by the department of the *Pas de Calais*. An ardent imagination, heated by a constant meditation, or deep study of the popular institutions of antiquity, led him to embrace the popular cause with eagerness, and to concur zealously in most of the intemperate opinions and measures of the time. He voted for the accusation of the princes,—for the fabrication of 30,000 pikes to arm the Sans-culottes,—and, finally, for the death of the king. He was sent, by the Convention, on various missions to the armies; and signalized himself as much by personal intrepidity, as by the energy of his republicanism. In the month of March 1793, accompanying the Army of the North, he cashiered General Gratien on the field of battle, for having retreated before the enemy; and put himself at the head of the troops. On his return to the Convention, he became a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and, under the influence of Robespierre, was but too active an auxiliary in the unprecedented atrocities which characterized the reign of terror. His conduct during that period gave rise to the picture which Mr Burke has drawn of him, in

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his first letter on the Regicide peace. Carnot, by the peculiar bent of his genius, soon acquired an unlimited influence in the military department; and, during his administration, it could never be said, that the errors of the cabinet rendered abortive the operations of the field. He was entrusted with all the plans deposited in the bureaux since the reign of Louis XIV.; and, by his own memoirs and instructions, issued in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, contributed materially to the astonishing success of the French arms. He claimed the merit of the victory of Maubenge, gained by Jourdan, at which he assisted as Commissary of the Convention; and he has, at all times, been ambitious of this species of glory. In May 1794, he was elected President of the Convention; and, when a deputation from the Jacobins appeared at the bar, to state, in a formal manner, that they actually believed in the existence of a God, Carnot told them, that this step alone was sufficient to refute all the calumnies *vomited forth* against their society. He on one occasion denounced Turreau, now ambassador to the United States of America, and Carrier, for their barbarities in La Vendée; and when Barrere and Collot were arraigned by the Convention, undertook their defence with the utmost warmth. He was himself exposed to frequent attacks, particularly in May 1795, when *Legendre* called for his arrest; but *Bourdon de l'Oise* saved him, by exclaiming, 'This is the man who organized Victory in the French armies!'. He was afterwards raised to the Directorship, and, for some time, exerted a considerable ascendancy over his colleagues; but was at last overpowered by their intrigues, and compelled to take refuge in Germany, where he published a vindication of his conduct; and it is rather remarkable that he should, although at that time under the protection of a monarch, have terminated it, by declaring himself 'still the irreconcileable enemy of Kings.' This *Memoir Justificatif* accelerated the downfall of the Directory, whose vices and crimes he has denounced with great force and acrimony of invective. He returned to France after the dissolution of their power, and was appointed Minister of War in April 1800. He, however, soon relinquished this office, and lived for some time in retirement. In 1802, he consented to act as a member of the Tribunate; and in this capacity, resisted, on several occasions, the favourite measures of the Government. He stood *alone* in his vote against the Consulate for life; strenuously opposed the accession of Buonaparte to the imperial dignity; and persisted in refusing to sign the registers. In 1807, he appeared to be wholly engrossed by his avocations, as a member of the first class of the Institute. Various works on the higher branches of the mathematics attest his eminence in that science. In manners, in countenance,

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and in the deep workings of the soul, no one of his contemporaries approaches so nearly to the republican models of antiquity, as there is none more profoundly versed in all the branches of republican history. These studies, perhaps, have nourished a fierce spirit, and a severity of temper, which have justly subjected him to the imputation of cruelty; but he is free from the reproach of peculation, which attaches to so many of his colleagues. Those who contemplate him under his present circumstances, and recollect the genius of the man, and the sphere in which he has once moved, are reminded of the picture which the Roman historians draw of Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage. The skill and intrepidity which he, and many others, without a military education, exhibited, when deputed to the armies, is a trait too remarkable to be passed over. There is, moreover, something to admire in the lofty confidence which the Commissaries of the Convention, like those of Rome, so often manifested in the fortunes of the republic, although accompanied by the fastidious insolence of profligate power. They spoke and fought with equal energy. When General Montesquieu hesitated to take possession of Geneva, in consequence of the remonstrances of the Swiss Cantons, Dubois Crancé, the delegate to his army, is said to have exclaimed, 'A quoi bon tant de façons:'—'I would beat down Geneva into her own lake by a shower of bombs, and invite the magnificent Cantons to fish her up again.' In the life of St Just, who, at the age of twenty-six, perished on the scaffold with Robespierre, and whose endowments resembled those of Carnot, there are striking instances of the same spirit. While with the army of the North, and at the battle of Fleurus, he exhibited the accomplishments of an able general, united to the desperate courage of a soldier, and the lofty enthusiasm of an impetuous Proconsul. The associates of Carnot in the directorial power, are still alive. Rewbell,* who voted for the death of the King, and who

* This man was charged with '*les grands mouvements pecuniaires*,' in the technical phraseology of the banditti. A relation of Rewbell, of the name of *Rapinat*, was sent into Switzerland by the Directory, '*pour travailler la Suisse*,'—to pillage and distract that country. It is rather a singular coincidence, that his two principal coadjutors in this honourable mission, were called *Forfait* and *Grugeon*. His spoliations became so intolerable at length, that the French Government was compelled to recal him. On his return, the following quatrain was published, in allusion to his name.

'*Question d'Etymologie.*

'Un bon Suisse que l'on ruine,
'Voudrait bien que l'on decidât;
'Si Rapinat vient de rapine,
'Où rapine de Rapinat.'

who acquired so much celebrity by his rapacious exactions, although in disgrace with the government, is left to enjoy the fruits of them in the vicinity of Paris. *La Réveilliere Lepeaux*, the highpriest of the sect of Theophilanthropists, and of whom it was sarcastically observed by one of his colleagues, 'that his predominant passion was the fear of being hung,' is living, unmolested, in the midst of botanical pursuits. *Barras* resides, in a state of honourable exile, in the South of France. *Roger Ducos*, who, in 1794, presided at the meetings of the Jacobin Society, and passed from the station of Director to that of Third Consul in 1799, fell soon after into the ranks of the Senate, where he now glitters as one of the great dignitaries of the Legion of Honour. *Sieyés* supports the same honours, with a large estate, bestowed by the Consuls as *a national recompense*. *Barthelemi* is also a member of the Senate, and by far the most respectable of that body. During the great shocks of the Revolution, he was absent on foreign missions, and conducted himself with uniform moderation and distinguished ability. He negotiated several important treaties abroad; and, on his return to Paris, was forced into the Directorship, rather by the lustre of his character, than by any love for the situation. That character threw him among the number of the *deportés*; when Barras and his party acquired a preponderance. His escape from Cayenne must be familiar to most of our readers, by the work of Ramel. His early studies were pursued under the direction of his uncle the celebrated author of the Travels of Anacharsis, who combined with so copious a variety of knowledge, and such exquisite taste, so much private virtue and social talent, as to render him the delight of his friends, and the ornament of his age. With an intellect and a heart formed upon this amiable model, the nephew has a similar exterior; a tall and well-proportioned frame; a physiognomy of the true antique, with a mingled expression of simplicity, of goodness and of greatness, which seems to reflect the true character of a noble and elevated mind.

We find mentioned in these volumes an *Abbé Fenelon*, a grand-nephew of the celebrated Archbishop of Cambray, from whose name virtue appears inseparable. In the decline of life, the Abbé is said to have conceived the design of improving the condition and correcting the vices of an unfortunate class of children, known in Paris under the appellation of *Petits Savoyards*. He laboured so assiduously for the accomplishment of this benevolent purpose, that he acquired the surname of their Bishop. He was seen constantly surrounded by a little group, who appeared to listen to him with respect and admiration; and who, in a short time, imbibed a strong affection for his person. He was seized

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and imprisoned in the Luxembourg, during the reign of terror. As soon as the Savoyards heard of his imprisonment, they assembled, and proceeded in a body to the Convention, to solicit his liberation, but without success. He was condemned as an *Aristocrat* by the Revolutionary tribunal, and executed at the age of eighty-one.

Our attention has been attracted by the name of *Desezé*, who pronounced the eloquent and powerful vindication of Louis XVI. before the Convention. The reputation which he had acquired at the bar before the Revolution, induced the Monarch to call upon him, after the refusal of Target, to undertake his defence. He obeyed the call with enthusiasm; and, before he entered on the performance of his task, made every necessary disposition for his own death—so sure was the fate which seemed to await all those who openly adhered to the interests of the throne. His discourse, written in the course of four nights, embraced, and triumphantly refuted, all the topics of accusation preferred against his royal client. It contains some most pathetic appeals, and many bold strokes of eloquence. His enunciation is uncommonly fine; and was found every way suitable to the importance of his object. The interesting journal of Malesherbes states, that the peroration, as it originally stood, was of irresistible pathos. 'When Desezé read it to us,' says his venerable associate, 'we could not refrain from shedding tears;' but the King remarked, that 'it must be suppressed, as he did not wish to make an appeal to the passions.'* The monarch, after his condemnation, asked Malesherbes, with visible emotion, what he could do to reward his advocate. This was reported to Desezé, who asked no other recompense than the honour of kissing his master's hand. The request was immediately granted; and, as he approached to bend the knee, Louis pressed forward, threw his arms about his neck, rested his head upon his shoulder, and sobbed bitterly for some time, exclaiming 'Mon pauvre Desezé!'

Desezé, soon after the execution of the Sovereign, was thrown into an obscure prison, where he remained for a long period, apparently forgotten by those who had ordered his arrest. His wife, a woman of a most accomplished and vigorous mind, applied for his release to Barrere, on whom her husband had conferred some important benefits at his outset in life. Barrere shed tears when he was informed of the miseries of his benefactor; but commanded the wife to abstain from all further applications in

* There is one part of this speech which particularly deserves to be noticed as '*un beau mouvement.*' The orator, casting his eyes indignantly around him, exclaimed, 'Je cherche ici des juges; Je ne vois partout que des accusateurs.'

in favour of her husband, lest the attention of the Revolutionary Government should be drawn towards him; and after the lapse of a few months, had him secretly removed to a *Maison de Santé*, or a house for the reception of invalids and lunatics. We know of no other favourable trait in the life of this furious and wily demagogue; who, after having so long governed the Legislative Assemblies of France, and occupied so much of the attention of mankind, has dwindled into absolute insignificance, and now drags out a solitary and sordid existence in Paris, contemned by the Government, and shunned by all orders of men. * In this Maison de Santé, Desezé remained during the whole of the reign of terror, secluded from public notice, and occupied in the education of his children. He ventured forth when the fury of the tempest was past; and it is thought rather remarkable in France, that, of a numerous family, not one fell under the axe of the guillotine. He exercises no employment under the Government, but lives in a retired part of the capital, in the midst of a society of men, such as Morellet, Sicard, and some others, with whom any state of things would be tolerable. Malesherbes perished on the scaffold at the age of seventy. Target, who shrunk from the peril of defending his Sovereign, and who, during the reign of terror, acted as secretary of the Revolutionary Committee of his section, is now a Judge of the Tribunal of Cassation, and a member of the Legion of Honour. Fronchet, who cooperated so nobly with Desezé, died in 1806, after having served as a senator under the new regime. Tronçon Ducoudray, who defended the Queen, was *deported* to Cayenne, where he fell a victim to that destructive climate, facetiously styled the *dry guillotine* by the agents of the Directory. On this fatal spot, about the same time, died also Billaud de Varennes, Bourdon de l'Oise, and many others of a character and principles so opposite to those of Ducoudray. There are few things, indeed, which can give us a more powerful impression of the atrocities of faction, or the indiscriminate mischiefs of revolution, than the singular group which the colony of Cayenne exhibited for some time,—of refractory

* Since the establishment of the Imperial despotism, he for some time edited, under the auspices of the Police, a violent Journal with the title of *Memorial Anti-Britannique*. Notwithstanding the sanguinary and infuriate conduct of this man during the Revolution, there are few of more mild or fascinating manners, or whose conversation breathes purer and more indulgent sentiments of morality. He was remarkable for the inflation of his style, and unrivalled in the art of puffing the successes of the French arms. His exaggerations induced St Just to remark to him, rather angrily, 'Barrere, tu fais trop *mousser* nos victoires.'

fractory and apostate priests—of royalists and demagogues, brought together to encounter the same destiny on the same spot. The same instructive lesson was afforded in the prisons of Paris, where the executioner and his victim, the accuser and the accused, the leaders of a fallen party and their vindictive successors, often met on their passage to the same scaffold. It was truly and emphatically said by Danton, that the fraternity of these republicans was that of Cain; and that the tyrant crowned with the *bonnet rouge*, may be as relentless as he who wields the sceptre. Danton, Chaumette, Hebert and Robespierre, occupied successively the same dungeon in the Conciergerie. When Danton was going to the scaffold, he at first imprecated curses on Robespierre; but suddenly checking himself, exclaimed, 'They are all alike: Brissot would have sent me to the guillotine as well as Robespierre.'—'Quod inter bonos amicitia,' says Cicero, 'inter malos factio est.'

We observe by these volumes, that the fury of the revolutionary leaders was particularly directed against the farmers-general, who all perished, with the exception of a single individual, a M. de Verdun. Sixty of them were executed at one time, in consequence of a report of Dupin, a frantic member of the Convention. The Revolutionary Tribunal adopted a general formula as the ground of their condemnation: which is curious as applied to *Lavoisier*, who was declared guilty of having 'adulterated snuff with water and ingredients destructive of the health of the citizens.' This chemist requested time to complete some experiments necessary for an important discovery in which he had been for some years engaged; and offered to lay down his life willingly when he had finished his task. The reply of Coffinhal the President, was, 'that the Republic did not want savans or chemists, and that the course of justice could not be suspended.' Nothing can be imagined more atrocious, and sometimes more ludicrous than the judgments of this horrible inquisition. We find instances—of a woman of ninety-two, both deaf and blind, condemned for *counter-revolutionary intentions*—of an individual, for not paying his taxes through a spirit of royalty—of another, for declaiming against 'the innocent and virtuous Robespierre,' &c. *Camille*, *Desmoulins*, and *Danton* were condemned for intending to re-establish monarchy! and *Carrier* for executing the famous noyades,* and shooting children of thirteen and

* The noyades were effected by drawing out a plug inserted in the bottom of the boats on which the wretched victims were launched. The genius of iniquity often displays itself in the same inventions. The learned reader will recollect, that when Nero was desirous

and fourteen years old, *with monarchical views.* We observe, that the writers of these volumes, after stating the condemnation of an individual, deem it altogether superfluous to add that he was executed!

Anacharsis Cloots, the soi-disant orator of the *human race*, was conducted to the scaffold under the same pretext. This man was the nephew of *Paau*, the author of some well-known works, and appears not to have been wholly destitute of talents. German metaphysics and depraved morals contributed to render him one of the most wild, as well as one of the most original fanatics of the Revolution. The grave solemnity with which he was received by the National Assembly, *on his embassy from the human race*, and the serious attention paid to his procession and insane harangues, would be fit subjects for derision, if they did not afford a sad proof of the melancholy condition of the times. His invectives against monarchy and religion are too gross and blasphemous to bear repetition. He encountered death with the utmost serenity; and on his way to the scaffold, lectured Hebert on Materialism, 'to prevent him,' as he said, 'from feeling any religious sentiments in his last moments.' He also asked to be executed after his associates, 'in order to have time to establish certain principles, while their heads were falling.'

We are much struck with the account which is here given of the end of *Condorcet*. After having acted a prominent part in the first stages of the Revolution, he was denounced by Chabot, in the year 1793, and compelled to take refuge at the house of a female acquaintance, with whom he remained until the following year; and in this interval, wrote his book on *the Progress of the Human Mind*. Forced to quit this asylum, in consequence of a decree which punished with death those who were convicted of harbouring outlaws, he left Paris, meanly dressed, and with the intention of putting himself under the protection of an old friend, *Suard*, who resided at Seaux. When he reached his dwelling, he

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ous of despatching his mother, and found himself at a loss for an expedient, Anicetus, a freed man, proposed to him, 'the model of a ship upon a new construction, framed in such a manner that a part might be withdrawn, and the unsuspecting passenger committed to the waves.' (*Tac. Ann. lib.* 14. *Ar.* 3.) Carrier is also said to have frequently practised the same refinement of cruelty, which Virgil in his 8th book of the Æneid, attributes to the tyrant Mezentius.

> Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,
> Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora,
> Tormenti genus! et, sanie taboque fluentes,
> Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat.

he found that Suard had gone to Paris; and the fugitive was necessitated to skulk for several nights among the quarries of the neighbourhood. Hunger at length drove him from his retreat, and led him to enter a small inn at Clamart. His long beard, his gaunt and haggard appearance, the agitation of his manner, and the voracity with which he ate, subjected him to suspicion; and he was accordingly arrested by a Member of the Revolutionary Committee of the place. When brought before the Committee, he called himself *Simon*, and stated that he had been a servant. But on being searched, a small copy of Horace was found in his pocket, with Latin notes pencilled on the margin. 'You say that you were a domestic,' said the peasant who interrogated him, 'but I should rather suppose, that you are one of those *ci-devant*, who had domestics.' The man sent him to Bourg la Reine on foot, but his strength failing before the end of the journey his conductors mounted him on the horse of a labourer. On his arrival, he was thrown into a dungeon, and forgotten for twenty-four hours. At the end of that time, he was found lifeless and stiff by the person who was sent to supply him with bread and water. It was doubtful whether his death was produced by mere inanition, or occasioned by a strong poison which he always carried about him. Such was the exit of one who may be justly classed among the most original writers of his age, and who was surpassed by none of the illustrious body of literati to which he belonged, in the brilliancy of his genius, and the variety of his acquirements. Although author of that formidable phrase, *peace to the cottage, but war on palaces*,* his temper was mild and benevolent, and his morals are said to have been irreproachable. *Petion*, the celebrated Mayor of Paris, an enthusiast of a much more criminal cast, experienced a similar fate. After being proscribed by Robespierre, he wandered over Brittany, and the department of the Gironde, and was at length found dead in a field, apparently through hunger. The miserable end of Bailly, the predecessor of Petion, is well known. He is said to have borne a strong resemblance to Lord Melville—*in person and face.*

Of the party of the Gironde, to whom Mad. Roland is so prodigal of her praise, but few appear to have survived. Barnave, Gaudet, Valagé, Vergniaud, were all swept away. Most of them were men of talents, and apparently of good intentions. There are some circumstances connected with the death of Vergniaud, which deserve to be mentioned as illustrative of the French character. *Fonfrede*, Genseuné, Ducos and Valagé, were confined in the *Conciergerie* along with him, and passed the night before their execution in a manner suitable to the character which each had

* *Guerre aux chateaux, paix à la chaumière.*

had received from nature. Fonfrede, although reſigned to his fate, ſhed a tear, every now and then, at the recollection of his wife and children. *Ducos* made verſes, enlivened his companions by ſprightly ſallies, and gravely propoſed, that, while they ſtill retained their quality of deputies, they ſhould decree the indiviſibility of their heads from their bodies, as they had decreed that of the republic. Valagé, unmoved and determined, was buſy in contriving how he ſhould deſpatch himſelf. *Vergniaud* threw away ſome poiſon which he had kept about him, declaring, that as he had not enough to ſhare with his friends, he would not abandon them. He diſcourſed for a long time, with his uſual eloquence, on revolutions and governments, and predicted the miſeries which awaited his country. Theſe volumes abound with ſimilar inſtances of perfect *sang-froid*, of ſteady compoſure, and of careleſs gaiety, † diſplayed by individuals of all parties, even at the foot of the ſcaffold. They furniſh alſo numerous caſes of deliberate ſuicide, of a ſingular nature. *

We have encountered various anecdotes of female heroiſm; two or three of which we ſhall cull out for our readers. The chiefs of La Vendée were attended, in the moſt bloody engagements, by ſeveral females, who ornamented their ſtandards with chivalrous devices, and who, like the Camillas and Penthiſileas of old, carried conſternation and death into the enemy's ranks. Among the number was a Mad. La Rochefoucault, the miſtreſs of Charette, who ſignalized herſelf on various occaſions, and was at length taken

† When D'Eſpréménil was going to the ſcaffold, he was accompanied by Le Chapelier, well known as one of the best orators of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and who was to be executed with him. Le Chapelier, as they were aſcending the ſteps, obſerved to his companion, that they were to have a terrible problem to ſolve in their laſt moments. What is that ſaid the other? 'To determine,' was the reply, 'to which of us the hiſſes of the populace are meant to be addreſſed!'

* The Royaliſts ſometimes deſtroyed themſelves through the fear of being maſſacred; and the Republicans, in order to eſcape the guillotine. Moſt of the Republican leaders habitually carried poiſon about them for this purpoſe. Monteſquieu, in endeavouring to account for the frequency of ſuicide among the Romans during their civil wars, among other cauſes, enumerates the influence of paſſion. To this may be added, with regard to the Republicans of France, their irreligious maxims, ſimilar in their effects to the principles of the Stoics, which prevailed among the Romans. Moſt of the Republicans had ſelected, as a motto, the lines of Voltaire in Merope.

'Quand on a tout perdu, quand on n'a plus d'eſpoir,
La vie eſt un opprobre, et la mort un devoir.'

taken prisoner, and executed. Another of these heroines, at the affair of Gesté, rallied the broken forces of the Royalists, charged three times at their head, and was found covered with wounds on the field of battle. In the terrible battle of Mans, in which 10,000 republicans, and 20,000 Vendeans, are said to have perished, a young woman, armed with a helmet and a lance, and pursued by some soldiers, fell at the feet of the republican commander, General Marceau, and entreated him to protect her. He raised her up, bade her discard her fears, and, attracted by the beauty of her countenance, determined to save her if possible. A law, however, was then in force, which punished any Republican with death who gave quarter to a Vendean taken in arms. Marceau was denounced, and would have been executed, had it not been for the interference of Bourbotte, the Deputy of the Convention, whose life he had saved in the same engagement.—Neither the authority of the Deputy nor the tears of Marceau could, however, wrest the fair prisoner from the hands of the executioner. There is something particularly interesting in the story of Cecile Renault, a beautiful woman, executed at the age of 20, for an alleged attempt to assassinate Robespierre. The distractions of the capital, and the tide of blood which rolled in the streets, appear to have disordered her fancy; but it is not clear that she really had the intention imputed to her. In May 1794, she called at the house of Robespierre, and requested to see him. On being refused, she replied, that he was a public functionary, and should therefore be accessible to all.—'When we had a king,' she added, 'there was no difficulty in seeing him.—I would sacrifice my 'life to have another.' When dragged before the Revolutionary Tribunal, two knives were found in her pocket; and she was therefore condemned. Her father was executed with her as an accomplice; and all her relations, friends and acquaintance, involved in the same fate. More than 60 persons, whom she did not know, were sacrificed on the same account. One of these, a Republican of the name of Admiral, jocosely remarked to her, as he was about to lay his head on the block,—'Vous-vouliez voir un tyran?—Vous n' aviez qu'à aller à la Convention: vous en eussiez vu *de toutes les façons.*' A similar instance of philosophy, or insensibility, is remarkable in the person of Lebon, a Sans-culotte of the most ruffian cast. When, preparatory to his execution, they were about to invest him with the *chemise rouge*, the symbol of a murderous life, he returned it with affected gravity to the executioner, exclaiming, 'Ce n'est pas moi qui dois l'endosser; il faut 'l'envoyer à la Convention dont je n'ai fait qu'executer les ordres.'

The most famous, perhaps, of these heroines was *Mad. Roland*, who has left, in her Memoirs, the most lively and striking picture

ture of the Revolution that has ever fallen into our hands, and the most eloquent delineation of those feelings and principles by which the virtuous part of its agents were guided.—It is needless to repeat any part of what is to be found in a work so popular. We may only mention, that after her incarceration in the Abbaye, in 1792, the section of Paris in which she resided, petitioned for her liberation; but this application, and her own letters to the Assembly, were equally unavailing. She was transferred to the *Conciergerie;* and on the 8th of November 1793, condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal, for having conspired *against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic!* She displayed the most unshaken courage on the scaffold, which she mounted with a marked expression of disdain and dignity in her countenance. It may be observed, that the same fortitude was evinced by all the females who perished in the same way, with the single exception of Madame Dubarry, whose deplorable weakness at the moment of her execution was strikingly contrasted with the tenor of her life. Madame Rolland, in crossing the Place de la Revolution, on her way to the scaffold, bowed her head before the statue of Liberty which stood there, and uttered an indignant exclamation concerning the abuse of the name. She predicted, when about to die, that her husband would not survive her loss,—a prediction which was speedily verified. He had been proscribed in the month of May, and had taken refuge in the house of a friend at Rouen; but as soon as he heard of her execution, he resolved upon destroying himself. He quitted his asylum, took the road leading to Paris; and the next morning was found seated by the side of it, with his back against a tree, and mortally wounded with a sword-cane, which he usually carried with him. A note was found beside him, in which he declared that the death of his wife had left him without any further consolation on earth.

We dare not trespass on the patience of our readers by any more of these distressing details. We close these volumes with feelings of humiliation and almost of despondency. When we think what has been, and what is, in France, we are afraid to look forward to what is to be; and if our principles did not forbid us ever to despair of the fortunes of the human race, we should be glad to turn away our eyes for ever from the fearful spectacle of triumphant guilt, baffled genius, and insulted virtue.—We cling steadily, however, to the faith, that the seeds of future happiness are sowing in the midst of this scene of apparent desolation; and that the plough and the harrow which are now deforming the surface, and tearing up the roots of European society, are only preparing the soil for a new and more abundant harvest of permanent enjoyment.

ART. XVI. *Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza.* By Charles Richard Vaughan, M. B. Fellow of All-Souls College, Oxford, and one of Dr Radcliffe's Travelling Fellows from that University. Fifth Edition; with corrections and additions. pp. 38. London. Ridgeway. 1809.

MR VAUGHAN having made an extensive tour in Spain last summer, and visited Saragossa, (or, as he calls it, Zaragoza), where he lived with the celebrated Palafox, has given, in the little work now before us, a very simple and well written narrative of what passed there a short time before his arrival. The profits of the sale, he informs us, are to be transmitted for the relief of the brave and unfortunate inhabitants. We shall, therefore, abstain from making such extracts as might interfere with so praiseworthy an object; and shall only give a specimen of the unaffected and interesting manner in which the pamphlet is written.

'One side of the street Cozo, the breadth of which is about equal to that of Pall Mall, was now occupied by the French; in the centre of which General Verdier was seen giving his orders from the Franciscan convent. The Arragonese maintained their positions on the opposite side, throwing up batteries at the openings of the streets, within a few paces of similar batteries of the French. The intervening space was soon heaped up with dead, either thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had been slain, or killed in the conflicts below.

'Nothing, in the whole course of the siege, more embarrassed Don Joseph Palafox than this enormous accumulation of the dead, and the apprehension of the contagious disorders which must infallibly result from it. To an Arragonese, it was almost certain death to appear in the middle of the street; and the expedient resorted to was, to push forward French prisoners, with a rope attached to them, amidst the dead and dying, to remove the bodies of their countrymen, and bring them in for burial. The office in which they were employed, and the pity of their own soldiers, secured them in general from any annoyance; and, by this expedient, the evils arising from the horrible corruption of the dead was in some degree diminished. The principal season for attack, in this singular species of warfare, was the night. The French and the Arragonese, under the cover of darkness, frequently dashed across the street, and attacked each other's batteries with the most undaunted courage. The struggle, begun at the batteries, was often carried into the houses beyond; and the author of this narrative has often seen, in every story of an house in the Calle de Cozo, unequivocal marks of the madness and desperation with which such sort of contests must have been carried on. The batteries of the contending parties were so close to each other, that, in one instance, a Spaniard crept from his own side, and

and insinuating himself under the intermediate bodies of the dead, attached a rope to one of the French cannon. In the struggle which ensued, the rope broke, and the Arragonese were deprived of their prize, at the very moment when they thought themselves secure of it.' p. 23—25.

It is not at all unnatural for Mr Vaughan, in this and perhaps in some other passages, to have been betrayed, by his laudable enthusiasm for the Spanish cause, and his partiality for his Saragossan friends, into an easy belief of whatever was told him. Making every allowance, however, for the very pardonable exaggerations of men so recently engaged in such a service, enough remains, in the conduct of this memorable defence, to command the admiration of all ages; nor should we ever have hinted at Mr Vaughan's partialities, had we not found him appealed to by Lord Castlereagh, in a despatch to Sir John Moore, dated *16th December*, 1808, as bearing testimony to the important fact of 'the southern and eastern provinces being full of ardour and enthusiasm.'* With this qualification, we earnestly recommend the perusal of Mr Vaughan's tract to all our readers; and regret that he has has not favoured the public with larger communications upon the incidents of his tour, and the anecdotes which he must have collected in the course of it, respecting the events immediately preceding it.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity, to call the attention of our readers once more to the affairs of Spain. When we first brought this interesting subject under their consideration, the country was in such a tumult of hopes and expectations, that the small voice of reason had no chance of being heard. Afterwards, when the favourable events with which the Spanish campaign opened, had converted all those hopes into certainty, the desponding views exhibited in our pages scarcely arrested the eye of the deluded people; and it was not till the first reverses of the patriots had damped their heedless joy, that we began to attract notice and execration. The good sense of the nation, we would fain hope, has now triumphed over the tricks of a paltry and in-

* House of Commons Papers on Spain, p. 84.—It is worthy of notice, that Mr Vaughan's authority is here urged to General Moore, after Lord Castlereagh had received despatches by the hands of that gentleman from the General, in which his name is mentioned; consequently, after the General must be supposed to have received from Mr Vaughan himself whatever information he had to communicate. It is equally singular, that such statements should not have been given to the General, on the authority of the regular civil and military agents whom the Government had sent to various parts of Spain, for the express purpose of examining this matter.

terested party, and lett all those ardent wishes for the liberty of Spain, which did so much honour to the character of Englishmen, unmixed with that obstinate and intolerant determination to believe in the success of the cause, which could only be excused by reflecting on the means taken to propagate the delusion. Presuming, then, that the country is at lengh awakened, we would willingly contribute, as much as in us lies, to assist it in retracing the arts which were used to bring on the trance, and exposing the practices of designing and interested men while it lasted,—practices equally prejudicial to the interests of the country, and destructive of all the prospects they seemed to encourage,—alike hurtful to England and to Spain. This we are disposed to attempt, rather with the hope of preventing, if possible, such delusions in future, and of leading to sound views of the expectations now to be formed, and the line of policy fit to be adopted, than for the sake of blaming the Government for what is past and irremediable, or of defending our own former speculations. With respect to the Ministry, indeed, it is our desire to speak as gently as possible. The feelings and intentions which regulated all their proceedings towards Spain were so praiseworthy, that it is difficult to judge very harshly, however bitterly we may lament the train of errors by which those generous intentions were frustrated. For ourselves, we have unhappily too good a defence in the events that verified our predictions; and the abuse with which we have been assailed from so many quarters, has been far too dull, and infinitely too unsuccessful, to merit any notice. *

The fundamental position which we ventured to lay down respecting the Spanish question, was this—That the spirit of the people, however enthusiastic and universal, was in its nature more uncertain and shortlived—more likely to be extinguished by reverses—or to go out of itself amidst the delays of a protracted contest, than the steady, regular, moderate feeling, which calls out disciplined troops, and marshals them under known leaders, and supplies them by systematic arrangements;—a proposition so plain and obvious, that, if it escaped ridicule as a truism, might have been reasonably expected to avoid the penalties of heresy or paradox. The event has indeed wofully proved its truth. With

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* The various attacks on the Edinburgh Review, which have appeared during the last six months, partly in prose, partly in some other sort of writing not exactly resembling prose, would, if collected, make a volume of no ordinary weight; and, as far as we have had patience to peruse these things, considerably exceeding in stupidity any equal mass of controversial matter formerly produced. We own that this is rather a mortifying circumstance.

a great apparatus of juntas and public functionaries, the Spanish government has betrayed only the qualities which mark the undirected movements of popular bodies. There has been just sufficient controul, to check the natural fervour of national enthusiasm—to prevent the people from acting for themselves, which, upon sudden emergencies, they have sometimes been known to do with happy effect. The vigour and the wisdom, which could at once direct and develop that enthusiasm—which could concentrate its impulse towards one point, without weakening its force—which could, by an happy mixture of compulsion, at a moment when it would not have been felt, ensure the duration of the people's exertions: this from first to last has been wholly wanting. Since the retreat of Joseph from Madrid, Spain has exhibited only the faults of popular governments, combined with the failings of decrepit monarchies—the fickleness and confusion of revolutionary times—the feebleness, the abuses, of worn-out establishments.

It is quite impossible to deny, that a very great spirit of resistance to France prevailed over almost every province of Spain during the last summer. The upper classes of society, however, were but moderately imbued with this feeling. The considerable proprietors dreaded convulsions and intestine war. Unaccustomed to active exertion—not peculiarly attached to the old government—disgusted indeed with the scenes which had preceded its downfall, although they might prefer the sway of a Spanish prince, and would have voted for a continuance of the Bourbon dynasty, had their voice alone been required to defend the throne,—they were but little disposed to risk their fortunes in its cause, or even to gratify, at the expense of almost certain confiscation and banishment, that hatred of Frenchmen which they shared with the inferior ranks of the people. In all probability, we should have seen nothing like exertion on their part, had not the lower orders, exasperated by the cruelties committed at Madrid, and excited by the religious orders, given full scope to their inveterate detestation of the French name and nation, and urged on persons of a higher description to a participation in the contest,—frequently, it must be confessed, by the direct application of force. The successes which attended these efforts at Cadiz and Andujar, and the glorious and romantic defence of Saragossa, notwithstanding the reverse at Rio Seco, spread the spirit of resistance widely over the Peninsula. Nothing was wanted but a few months of supineness, a little drivelling, on the part of the enemy, or a few men of commanding talents at Madrid, to give Spain a fair chance of securing her independence, assisted by her generous and powerful ally. Unhappily the supineness and the drivelling were di-

vided in pretty equal portions between Madrid and London, while the talents entrenched themselves behind the Ebro.

To the flight of Joseph Bonaparte, succeeded the most inexcusable security and confidence. With the thoughtlessness common to popular councils, the Spaniards appear to have considered every point as already gained; and, we are afraid, it must be added, that the self-sufficiency, so prominent in their national character, and in which they are perhaps only exceeded by the Russian grandees, lulled them into a dream, that the Spanish name was as formidable to the rest of the world as it was dear and venerable to themselves. The idea of any reverse of fortune never entered the minds, either of the people or of their rulers, as a bare possibility; and the belief that their arms were invincible, which, if confined to their armies, might have realized itself, was unhappily still more fondly cherished by the government: nay, what seems almost incredible, the necessity of any further struggle was not anticipated; and it was actually imagined, that the French either durst not, or would not, send any reinforcements across the Pyrennees. Accordingly, Lord William Bentinck describes the central government as having been '*thrown into a considerable degree of alarm*,' when, at the beginning of October, two months after Joseph left Madrid, a letter was intercepted, which mentioned that an army was about to enter Spain; and he adds, that, in consequence of this very tardy alarm, 'their former supineness, confidence, and indifference to the existing danger, had been succeeded by a state of great activity.' (*House of Commons' Papers, p.* 153.) We request the reader to keep this point in mind; for it is of very material consequence to a future part of the discussion. It is proved by various other documents in the printed papers; but we rest it upon the passage now quoted, as affording the most unexceptionable evidence. We need not inquire how the invaluable months, which thus elapsed, were wasted. Useless discussions of precedences and ceremonial, pernicious disputes between different assemblies and individuals of distinction, installations, and other exhibitions of pomp, which might have been harmless, and even beneficial, had they not interfered with higher offices;—these, and similar occupations, filled up the interval which the enemy of Spain and of Europe employed in securing the alliance of Russia,—sounding, probably intimidating Austria,—preparing his subjects for new wars,—and marching seventy thousand men to the Pyrennees.

Now, we apprehend it must appear evident, to any one who considers this subject, that the important period in question was peculiarly well adapted to the establishment of a vigorous government, and the introduction of a proper military system among the Spaniards.

Spaniards. The popular enthuſiaſm, and the hatred of France were at their height; and both feelings had been recently carried to this pitch by very unexpected ſucceſſes. The horrors of war had ſcarcely been felt—its privations, perhaps ſtill more trying to public ſpirit, were yet unknown—delay had not wearied the people, nor had a ſeaſon of inactivity given them time to think of their civil privileges, or of any thing but oppoſing the enemy. At this moment, there can be little doubt, they would have ſubmitted to the only meaſure which could render their numbers available againſt ſuch an enemy as France—a compulſory levy. It was by ſuch means that the French Revolution enabled the Convention to call out the reſources of the country, and to lay the foundations of a military ſyſtem, which unhappily has been found far more powerful than its original deſtination required. It is only by ſuch means that ſolidity and duration can ever be given to the efforts of popular ſpirit. We may flatter ourſelves by talking of the enthuſiaſm of our allies—and turn ſentences about their determination to die rather than yield; we may exult in the idea that a nation cannot be conquered unleſs it chooſes—and fondly talk of invincible ſpirit until we have miſtaken the figure for a reality. But the ſad queſtion recurs—how much ſpirit may a man have—how excellently well diſpoſed may he be to the cauſe—how loyal and how loud in his curſes upon the enemy, before he will come out with his pike, and make himſelf utterly a ſoldier? Get, however, a few ſuch men once enrolled; and, while their goodwill and the zeal of the nation continues, you may enforce, by their means, the enrolment of many more, without any great riſk of abating the prevalent enthuſiaſm, before its natural and appointed period. The Spaniſh government thought otherwiſe; and it happened, accordingly, that their armies were not only inferior to the French in diſcipline, in appointments and in commanders—(which was neceſſarily to be expected)—but were inferior to them alſo in numbers of fighting men—were deficient in that quality by which alone they had any chance of balancing their unavoidable defects—were beaten, not only at the enemy's weapons, but at their own too. Even before the French were reinforced, we find the Britiſh reſident at Madrid complaining that none of the armies in Spain was equally numerous with the troops oppoſed to them. And it has been ſtated in Parliament, and not contradicted, that at the opening of the campaign in November, the whole amount of the Spaniſh forces, in all parts, did not exceed 80,000 men; while the French, at the very loweſt calculation, had above 180,000 in one part of the Peninſula.

If nothing was done to embody and direct the ſpirit, of which ſo much has been ſaid, juſt as little pains were taken to foment

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it and keep it alive. No attempts were made to improve the condition of the people—to correct the manifold abuſes of the government—to remove thoſe moſt galling oppreſſions under which the lower orders more eſpecially laboured—and which are felt, not as political evils, but as interfering daily and hourly with the comforts of each individual. If the fancy of man had been required to form a combination of circumſtances favourable to the excitement of popular ſpirit, it would have failed in going beyond the reality then exiſting in Spain—where the people were animated with the moſt bitter hatred of the enemy—and, in compariſon with a foreign yoke, heartily loved their own government, notwithſtanding all its defects—whilſt the only perſon intereſted in perpetuating thoſe defects, was deprived of all real power—and their removal, being accompliſhed by a ſtroke of the pen, would have ſenſibly augmented the comforts of all whom the actual rulers had any occaſion to reward or to conciliate. At that moment, every thing which could relieve the people, might have been given as a boon for their gratification, with all the value which it derived from their neceſſities—and with the grace, too, which adorns a free gift. When the events of theſe ſtrange times ſhall be meditated by the men of future ages, in no one paſſage will their credulity be more ſtartled than in this—when they ſhall contraſt the decrees of Buonaparte with the proceedings of the Central Junta—and ſhall find him eagerly attempting to win over the Spaniſh people by conceſſions much more naturally to be expected from their own choſen rulers, who, upon ſuch ſubjects preſerve a dignified and important ſilence, while they are contriving ſome fooliſh proceſſion, or ſeeking to encourage and conciliate the nation by deviſing reſtraints upon political diſcuſſion.

It was a wretched ſubſtitute for the reforms which the government might ſo well have granted, and which would have ſo greatly promoted the real happineſs of the people, to delight them from day to day with falſe accounts of victories, and to keep them in a pleaſing ignorance of their dangers and loſſes. Such deceptions, practiſed by all the Juntas, might keep up the national ſpirit for a ſeaſon, and render the taſk of government ſomewhat more eaſy. But in a ſhort time they were ſure to be detected; and their effect muſt then be to propagate alarm and diſtruſt—alarm, greater than the occaſion juſtified—diſtruſt, equal to what the authors of the flattering ſtatements deſerved. But here, as in all their other proceedings, the Spaniſh government loſt ſight of the wiſe maxims which had been laid down by ſome of their number early in the conteſt; they forgot that the ſtruggle in which they had engaged was, if it ſucceeded at all, to be one of long duration; their meaſures ſhowed as little of foreſight or ſyſtem as if they had been planned in the cabinet

binet of their allies. It might, for example, have been expected, that a government embarked in a great popular cauſe, and depending upon the exertions of the country at large for every ſinew of the war, ſhould have taken ſome ſteps to ſecure the ſpeedy diffuſion of intelligence,—the communication of ſentiments and principles from point to point of their dominions. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that no efforts would be ſpared to remove whatever obſtructions there might be to the intercourſe between the provinces.

But, we are afraid, ſymptoms rather appear of ſome attempts to raiſe ſuch obſtacles where they did not previouſly exiſt. How elſe are we to account for the ſcarcely credible fact, that the capture of Madrid was only known at Liſbon, a diſtance of not quite four hundred miles, one calendar month after the event happened?

The want of energy and ſyſtem on the part of Government, and the unfortunate, but ſurely not unexpected, ſucceſſes of the French, accelerated the decay of the popular ſpirit, at all events not likely to laſt long in its original ſtrength. Of this, and indeed of all the poſitions which we have ever maintained on the ſubject of Spain, the late diſcuſſions in Parliament furniſh the moſt ample evidence. The official papers, both by what they tell, and by their ſtill more eloquent ſilence, inconteſtably prove, either, that there never was any effective ſpirit of reſiſtance in Spain,—a poſition quite untenable in the face of the known facts, and indeed ſo fatal to the credit of the Britiſh Government, that no man can believe it without the ſtrongeſt evidence; or that this ſpirit was on the decline almoſt as ſoon as any Britiſh agents arrived to examine it, and had nearly periſhed before our armies landed to take advantage of it.

'I hope,' ſays Sir John Moore, (8th *December*, 1808, *Salamanca*), 'a better ſpirit exiſts in the ſouthern provinces. Here 'no one ſtirs; and yet they are well inclined.' An expreſſion in an intercepted letter from a French officer commanding at Vittoria, to the Chief of the Staff with the army, paints the people in this part exactly—'L'Eſprit publique eſt toujours mauvais, toujours de l'incredulité ſur nos avantages. Quant à la tranquillité du pays elle eſt parfaite.'*—'In the provinces,' ſays our commanding officer, in another letter from the ſame place, 'no 'armed force whatever exiſts, either for immediate protection, 'or to reinforce the armies. The French cavalry from Burgos, 'in ſmall detachments, are overrunning the province of Leon, 'raiſing contributions, to which the inhabitants ſubmit without 'the leaſt reſiſtance. The enthuſiaſm, of which we have heard 'ſo much, no where appears: whatever goodwill there is, (*and*

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* Houſe of Commons Papers, 158.

'*I believe amongst the lower orders there is a great deal),* is 'taken no advantage of.'* From Toro he writes in the same strain; and after having advanced quite through the kingdom of Leon, and retreated to Astorga, he complains, on the 31st December, that he had risked the loss of the army to no purpose, as there was nothing in the country to take advantage of the diversion. 'The people,' he adds, 'run away; the villages are deserted.'† Sir David Baird, who had marched through Gallicia to Astorga, thus writes, November 22. 'No 'efforts are making for arming the people, or reinforcing the 'armies, in the country through which we have passed; and 'Major Stewart of the 95th, who was despatched in front of 'this place to obtain information, reports, that the inhabitants 'appear perfectly depressed by their losses; and seem to aban-'don all hope of making a successful resistance.'‡ In his letter from Corunna, January 13. 1809, Sir John Moore delivers it as his opinion, that the people of Spain 'had neither the 'power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves.' This he states, after having traversed Leon and Gallicia; and not only corresponded with Mr Frere, but lived some weeks in the society of General Hope, who had marched through Estremadura and Castile; and of Colonel Graham, who had visited both the capital, the eastern provinces, and we believe the south also, and had been attached to Castanos during the whole of his campaign. The British Government have published no contradiction from those two respected officers upon this point; and we are not very apprehensive of falling into an error when we suspect, that this is owing to their having none to publish, and not to any tenderness towards Sir John Moore's memory.

But all these witnesses, we shall be told, are military men, whose authority upon such subjects is questionable, because their prejudices are strong against the efforts of any people, or of irregular troops. Were there no civil agents, then, sent to Spain? Many. But from none, except Mr Frere, to whose judgment on the present subject no great deference is due, has one single line of a despatch been made public. Mr Frere himself admits, that no popular enthusiasm existed in Leon, nor in any part of the Castiles, except Madrid and La Mancha;‖ and of the other provinces he speaks from report. How short-lived the enthusiasm was, even at Madrid, may be collected from an intercepted despatch

* House of Commons Papers, 155. † Ibid. 164. ‡ Ibid. 146.

‖ This was stated in Parliament to be the real substance of Mr Frere's despatch to Sir John Moore, November 20, and published in a most mutilated state; and no contradiction was given to the assertion.

spatch of Berthier to Soult, dated 10th December 1808. 'The city of Madrid,' says he, 'is very tranquil; the shops are open; 'the theatrical amusements have been resumed; and you would 'not suppose that the first conferences had been accompanied by '4000 discharges of cannon.'* Sir John Moore vouches for the general accuracy of the description of Spain given in this letter;† and no one can doubt the truth of the particular facts just now quoted, without believing that the French Government intentionally deceives its own agents in its secret and confidential communications with them. Nor is it only the reports of our diplomatic agents on the state of Spain, that the Ministers have suppressed. Whatever information upon this subject the papers contain, seems to be made public only because it could not be separated from other matters. The passages above cited, from the despatches of Generals Moore and Baird, form parts of the detail of military operations. No reports are given from the multitude of excellent officers sent purposely to inquire into the state of things; and instructed more especially to examine how far the spirit of the people could be relied upon. The despatches of the greater number of them are wholly suppressed. The few which appear, relate to military operations; and if we may judge from the accidental notices in some of those few, the officers, on their first arrival in July and August, seem to have been satisfied with the prevailing enthusiasm in the North. Too much praise cannot be given to the fulness and accuracy of their instructions. Long lists of queries are furnished to each, embracing almost every point of doctrine, civil and military, which could in any way touch the great business in hand. The misfortune is, that none of the answers to those queries are laid before the public; and we regret this the more, that several of them are directed to the very subject with which we have been occupied, the dispositions of people of rank and property towards the cause of the patriots.‡ Upon this important topic, not one chance word escapes, in the whole mass of despatches presented to Parliament; except, indeed, the passage from Sir John Moore's letter, cited above. Can any unbiassed person believe, that there exists a reason for suppressing such information, other than its tendency to show that the upper classes were lukewarm in the cause?‖ The satisfaction,

* House of Commons Papers, 161. † Ibid. 160.

‡ See particularly House of Commons Papers, p. 35.

‖ It is worthy of notice, that when the Spanish prisoners were to be sent home from this country, the persons whom Lieutenant-colonel Doyle was desired to take with him for his assistants in persuading the rest to join the patriots, and in conducting their return to Spain, were two *serjeants.* Ibid. 15.

faction, too, which is occasionally expressed at first with the popular feeling, gradually wears out of these papers; and we are left in the painful necessity of concluding, that this feeling had, all over the North, been reduced to the state described by Generals Moore and Baird, even long before our armies entered Spain.

It was nearly thus in Portugal also. The letters of Colonels Brown and Grant from Oporto and Figuera, paint the enthusiasm of the people as at its height. These are written early in July. When the campaign commenced there a month later, we may remember how miserably our expectations of cooperation were disappointed. If any one should conclude, from these facts, that there existed at no time any spirit in the Peninsula dangerous to the French power, we desire him to read the intercepted letter of Junôt to Murât and Loison. He is speaking only of the comparatively trifling insurrection at Badajos; but he is speaking at the beginning of June, and he mentions it with no small respect. 'I have detailed to your Imperial Highness, says he, the insurrection at Badajos; and I take it for granted you will have taken steps to oppose the insurgents. I have sent to General Kellerman at Elvas, the brigade which was destined for Cadiz. If your Highness has sent troops to Badajos, and if they combine their movements with General Kellerman, the insurgents will speedily be reduced; but I cannot be of any great service to the plan at present, the Spanish troops under my command requiring to be guarded, instead of contributing to my strength.' In another part of the letter, he says, that it will be impossible for General Caraffa to resume the command of Estremadura, and to return thither with the cavalry. To Loison, he says, 'the insurrection of Badajos deserves your most anxious attention, and you must use your utmost efforts to prevent it from spreading. Treat the Portugueze well, and endeavour to reclaim all deserters,' &c.* If any man doubts whether the spirit in question might, by vigorous measures taken at the proper season, have been turned against the usurper with a fair chance of success, we bid him look to Cadiz, Andujar and Saragossa; to the flight of Joseph; to the memorable pause in the enemy's operations, when he retired behind the Ebro, and awaited for two months the arrival of new armies. Unfortunately he is a formidable enemy, who knows so well how to appreciate his danger. Without this it would avail him little to possess the means of facing it. The letters of Junôt, just now quoted, are as much to be dreaded by a blind and confident adversary, as his master's message to his senate.

Let us next cast our eye over the part which England took in these momentous affairs, and compare it with the line of conduct

* House of Commons Papers, 81.

duct pointed out by the circumſtances of the caſe. Our opinion upon this matter is already before the public; and we are willing that its juſtneſs ſhould be tried by the event, and by the evidence now produced on the part of the Britiſh Government,—evidence of all others the moſt unexceptionable. We ventured to maintain that, inſtead of waſting the invaluable months of July and Auguſt in an expedition to Portugal, our forces ſhould have been collected in July, and prepared for whatever expedition to Spain the events ſhould render adviſeable; that, as it happened, the nearer the force was ſent to the Pyrennees, ſo much the better; and that, during the months of Auguſt and September, an opportunity was afforded of driving the French out of the Peninſula. But even if the Portugueze expedition were admitted to have been adviſeable, we conceive it is clear, that after its object was accompliſhed, time remained for attacking the enemy in the North.

It has been objected to this speculation, in the firſt place, that the Spaniards did not wiſh for our aſſiſtance; and that in one inſtance they poſitively declined it. Now even if this fact were clearly proved, we ſhould not allow it to be at all deciſive of the queſtion; and this leads us to a conſideration, of infinite moment in the whole of the preſent diſcuſſion. We have already ſeen the grievous errors into which the Juntas fell; above all, we have had occaſion to deplore the blind confidence, and the ſupineneſs, which probably aroſe from that feeling. The delay in chuſing a central government was one of the worſt conſequences of this fatal ſecurity. The ſuppoſed refuſal of our aſſiſtance has been by ſome aſcribed to the want of a central government, and by others, more directly, to the confidence of the Spaniards in their own ſtrength. Mediately, or immediately, however, it was owing, the advocates of the Government muſt allow, to that ſtate of confidence and ſecurity. We contend that the duty of this country was to break down ſuch an obſtacle at once; to tear the film from the eyes of our ally; to awaken him from his ſlumbers. Is it doubted that we had the power? We have already ſhown, from the evidence of Lord William Bentinck, that a ſingle intercepted letter had the effect of rouſing the Supreme Government, and putting its powers in action, though unhappily it was then too late. An intimate and entire union of councils ſhould at firſt have been eſtabliſhed. A deciſive influence ſhould have been obtained over the views of our ally, as ſoon as the errors already pointed out were viſibly in his way. Inſtead of ſending out a pompous embaſſy under a perſon certainly of conſiderable talents, and of very great repreſentation, when little more than the ceremonial of a condolance remains to be performed, we ſhould have deſpatched the ſame, or ſome able man, (even although he was leſs gorgeous in his array), when a cloſe union of the countries could yet effect ſomething

thing towards repelling the common enemy, by skill and valour; not to beat him in gaudiness and parade, and in the trappings of the East. It is impossible to suppose, that the intentions of Buonaparte to reinforce his armies, and continue the war in Spain, could have been a matter of surprise at Madrid in October, if the English government had been in close correspondence with its ally. It is equally inconceivable, that the Spaniards, as soon as they were convinced of their perilous situation, could have refused the advice and cooperation which they afterwards so thankfully received. But it has been the constant error of our Government to rest satisfied with furnishing the means of war to its allies, and never to have a voice on the plan of operations. Our envoy is always excluded, when the ministers of those, whose armies we are to pay, are consulting. When their plan is settled, and money is wanted, he is graciously allowed to enter, and to draw his bills upon London. The scenes which were heretofore enacted at Vienna and St Petersburgh, have been repeated at Madrid and Seville, without even the shadow of the excuse that might formerly have been offered for them, and with an infinitely more fatal result.

The want of this concert, however, and of the influence which was due to our voice in the Spanish councils, appears to have been more detrimental in many other respects, than in occasioning a refusal of military cooperation. We can find no proofs that our assistance was refused. On the 18th of June, the Junta of Asturias, acting in concert with the kingdoms of Leon and Old Castile, and the Montana, earnestly intreated that 10,000 British troops should be sent to their assistance.* On the 4th of August, the Asturian Deputies in London made a still more urgent requisition of 'some thousands, some artillery, and artillery men,' as the succour of which their armies stood most in need.† On the 6th of August, the Gallician Deputy requests, on the part of his constituents, 'that one of the expeditions should be sent to Corunna or Vigo, although it may consist of 12 or 15,000 men, with 5 or 6000 cavalry;' and suggests that the cavalry should be landed at Gijon.‡ When Sir A. Wellesley touched at Corunna, although the Junta of Gallicia then approved of the Portugueze expedition, evidently from a dislike of our landing in their town, and from a most ill-founded confidence in the sufficiency of their own forces, he received a communication through Sir T. Dyer from the Junta of Asturias, urging him to disembark at

* Mr Hunter to Mr Canning, Gijon, June 19. 1808.
† Viscount Matteroza's Note to Mr Canning.
‡ Don Sangros's Note to Mr Canning.

at St Andero. § Previous to the 4th of July, General Spencer was repeatedly intreated by the Junta of Seville to join Castanos, and march upon Cordova. ‖ About the 18th of September, Lord W. Bentinck arrived at Cadiz; and, from that moment, his despatches are uniform in the recommendation of a British army entering Spain, and of our exerting the influence necessary to destroy intrigues, and give activity and unity to the operations of the Spaniards. Mr Stuart's communications from Madrid are of the same nature. * In case the opinion of Morla on this subject should be doubted, we shall only cite that of Castanos and Florida Blanca. 'To the first question I had to ask,' (says Lord W. Bentinck, Sept. 26) *viz.* 'whether the Spanish government 'did, or did not, wish to have the assistance of a British force?—'the Count *at once, and in the strongest terms,* expressed the great 'satisfaction with which such assistance would be received. General Castanos stated exactly the same opinion; and added, that 'besides the military advantages, the presence of a large British 'force would insure union in their own councils and operations. '*They both seemed surprised at the existence of a doubt in regard* '*to the willingness of the Spaniards upon this point.*' † These expressions are quite inconsistent with the notion, that an unwillingness to receive our armies existed at any time in Spain. The mere formal objection of there being no supreme government to treat for alliance, and for the reception of foreign troops, could speedily have been removed by men anxious to cooperate with cordiality, and capable of acting in new and difficult emergencies. Even the unwillingness to receive us into their arsenals—for, we fear there did exist such a feeling—and can the captors of the Spanish frigates, and of Copenhagen, greatly marvel at it?—even this natural distrust might have been got over by men in whose integrity the Spaniards could confide—or, if the intervention of such were impossible under the existing circumstances, our armies might have been suffered to land, should they not be allowed those fortresses for points of retreat. No doubt, the difficulty of all that we are describing, will be talked of. We shall hear, that such plans, or projects, as they will be termed, required infinite combination, and were opposed by various obstacles. But we never said, that it was an easy thing to beat Buonaparte, and free Spain and Europe from the yoke of France. Indeed, we know no other reason, except its *difficulty*, for the British ministry not having done this long ago.

We are next told, that there was no time for preparing the expedition in question. But a reference to the dates completely

§ Cintra Papers, p. 34. ‖ *Ib.* p. 152.
* House of Commons Papers in Spain, p. 104. † *Ib.* 106.

answers this objection. The insurrection of Madrid was known in London on the 21st of May. Admitting that this event, when added to the previous intelligence, was not sufficient to raise some expectation of an opening for our exertions in Spain, it must be allowed, that when the Asturian Deputies arrived on the 8th of June, and when, on the 10th, the government yielded to their request, and liberated the prisoners, there was good reason to look for events that might require our more active interference. From that moment, the eye of the government should have been fixed upon Spain. Every other object should now have yielded to the grand one which had been opened to their view. No Scicily—no Ceuta—no Sugar islands—no cruizes in the Cattegat.* All the efforts of all our departments should have been directed to assembling an armament ready for whatever opening might have been afforded. If no such opportunity offered, the troops made a few more marches, and a little more money was sunk in the transport service, than was altogether necessary,—but not one march more, nor one pound more, than we were throwing away at any rate in useless expeditions. If an opportunity should be afforded, then we were entitled to reckon upon the rewards due to foresight and discretion. On the 1st of July, the insurrection at Cadiz was announced officially to the Lord Mayor; and, on the eleventh of that month, the surrender of the fleet. It became now absolutely certain, that our cooperation should be wanted; and we wish to know why an armament might not have been sent forthwith to threaten the French and Spanish coasts in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay? We are not here talking of transports at all. Our men of war might have been fitted up for the accommodation of troops; and fifty or sixty thousand men afloat, would speedily have drawn towards the North as many of the French troops as could escape from the attacks of the Spaniards. It happened that, at any rate, this retreat had become inevitable;—then, by landing on the nearest point at which a sufficient number could disembark together, a most equal chance of coping with the enemy was afforded. No doubt, a number of ships of war must be new-fitted, and in a great hurry;—vast bustle must prevail at the Admiralty and the Victualling Board;—many nights' rest of many a Lord and many a clerk must be broken. What is still worse, an innovation—dangerous as such on every account, but peculiarly awful to the shipping interest, and hateful to the Transport Board—must be attempted; and the hair of several officers of distinction may probably stand on end, at hearing of an expedition without transports. The armament, too, must be exposed to

* Sir J. Moore's expedition did not reach Portsmouth, until six weeks had elapsed from the arrival of the Deputies.

to the storms of the Bay of Biscay, in the *boisterous* months of July and August; and its landing may be attended with difficulty, and even a little danger, from surf; and it is even possible that the enemy may annoy us during the operation. Nor is it certain that so agreeable and so secure a beach can be found in the province of Biscay, as the ardent volunteer loves when he practises the art of invasion upon the silver Thames. All this is exceedingly probable; and unhappily, real war is full of such difficulties and of dangers, exposes you to certain troubles, and to high risks; and the worst of it is, that you may gain nothing by it after all. But if such a miserable and selfish wisdom had always prevailed as that which looks only at the risk and the cost, without considering the prize, and will attempt nothing against which a single plausible argument may be used to raise a difficulty, then should we never have gloried in recollecting the heights of Abram, and the beach of Aboukir; and the names of Chatham, and Wolfe, and Abercromby, and Nelson, which make us the proudest nation on earth, would have been enrolled at St Luke's, or have adorned the academy of some new Laputa.

Let us only attempt to grapple with these objections, and we find them elude our touch. They are dissipated by the very facts which the campaign discloses, in spite of all the caution and hesitation that prevailed over it, and frustrated all its objects.—'The season was unfavourable.' Admitting that the expedition could not have arrived before September; Romana's army sailed down Channel on the 24th of September, touched at Corunna, and then disembarked safely in the Montana; and General Baird's army did not land in Gallicia till the middle of October.—'There was no safe landing place for troops near the Ebro.' Romana, however, landed nearly 10,000 men at Santander; and it is allowed that Santona is a much more favourable point.—'It was impossible to secure their reimbarkation in case of any disaster.' At all events, they were no worse off than General Moore's army, which had to retreat upon Corunna,—a port described by Sir David Baird and Admiral De Courcy, as peculiarly well adapted for the 'reimbarkation of troops.'* If they landed near the enemy, and had to march upon a distant point of retreat, they were at least much better off, than if they had both advanced from, and retired to that distant point.—'The means of transport were wanting for provisions and stores.' Admitting that it is impossible to establish a depôt at Santona, which could be supplied from the sea, and that it would be imprudent to trust to naval supplies without such a place of strength; there seems

* House of Commons Papers, p. 149.

to have been no difficulty in procuring mules from the north of Portugal and Gallicia; and a great cattle fair is mentioned as held at Burgos on the 1st of November, after the country had been well drained. If an active commissariat, previously sent, could not, with the assistance of all the English money, and all the Spanish good will, collect those animals, it would be wise perhaps never to think of expeditions,—at any rate, to send none into the territory of our Spanish friends.—'But after we should have landed in the North, and beat the French behind the Ebro, there were fortresses in our way which would have prevented us from driving them out of the Peninsula.' And did these fortresses oppose such an attempt the less, because we landed in Portugal and Gallicia,—met the enemy in Leon instead of Navarre,—and allowed him full time to reinforce himself, before we so much as looked at him? Which of all the plans that have been devised, annihilated Pampeluna and Figueras at the outset? Which of them all could have been executed without meeting, or passing these obstacles in the end? Those who conducted the defence of Spain had this difficulty staring them in the face, whatever might be their views; and it behoved them to weigh well at the first, whether it ever could be surmounted. If it was insuperable,—if no hope remained of driving the enemy beyond the Pyrenees, the success of the Spanish cause must necessarily be temporary. There was a moment, we think, when some prospect presented itself of effecting it by the assistance of England. In August and September, the whole country was disposed to rise. The English army might then have been sufficient, with their cooperation, both to watch Pampeluna, and to secure the western passes of the Pyrenees. After all, the place was less important than the time, provided the north of Spain was our object; and the same army which landed at Corunna and Mondego, might have reached the Ebro before the enemy had received any reinforcements, and might have decided the fate of Spain while the popular enthusiasm was at its height, had it not been detained by the convention, and by the singularly impolitic plan of taking the government of Portugal upon our hands.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we must say a few words upon our operations in Portugal, because that point enters into the discussion of the present state of affairs. It seems clear, that whoever is master of Spain, holds Portugal as an appanage to his crown. To what purpose then begin, by taking a possession which cannot be kept if you lose Spain, and which the salvation of Spain secures of itself? We are told that it is a point of retreat, in case of disaster. But when the disaster befel our armies

armies in the North, they fell back on Gallicia, and not on Portugal; and any disaster in the South would drive them more naturally towards Cadiz or Gibraltar, than Lisbon. It is also termed a rallying place for the spirit of the Spaniards. But if this means any thing (which we greatly question), it applies much better to Andalusia than to Portugal. Lastly, it is said that the trade of Portugal deserves our attention, and that the occupation of the country secured it at least in the mean time. But it is fit that rulers should make up their minds in such cases, and abide either by one principle or another. We blockade the enemy's coasts, and go to war with him; professing thereby to sacrifice the profits of trade to our political views. We at the same time send an expedition to Portugal, which might be better employed elsewhere,—and give, as a reason, that it will enable us to push a little trade. It cannot be wise, any more than it is consistent, at one moment to sacrifice our interests as traders to the concerns of the war; and the next to sacrifice the war to trade. It is, however, a contradiction by no means peculiar to our Spanish policy; it is only a variety of the old principle of '*British objects;*' and belongs to the very same class with our Sugar campaigns.

It is scarcely necessary for us, after the remarks which we have so often before made, and which we have in the present article confirmed by evidence, to repeat the melancholy truth, that very little hope remains of Spain being liberated from the yoke of her savage invader. He has nearly annihilated every Spanish army that has been opposed to him, and, we are afraid, is in possession of almost the whole country to the north of the Sierra Morena,—in quiet possession of the greater part of it,—and without any thing fit to meet him in the places least disposed to submit. We apprehend it is now too late to expect any general risings of the people. Those fears and interests must be operating which keep all nations in order, even under the most detested rulers. There are some who still hope, that, though they cannot meet the French in the field, which it is said they never should have attempted, they may still cut off their troops in detail. But this is a vague and unprofitable way of speaking. The French have now all the towns and roads and passes. They have the implements of government in their hands. The organization of the Juntas is destroyed; and as for individual and combined exertion,—in order to fight, the patriots must eat,—they must work many days in the week;—their zeal will cool,—their feelings as private men will, by no very slow degrees, undermine their political animosities, and prepare them at least for a state of inaction. Now it is that we dread the policy of France, aided by the effects of all the exaggerations and

deceptions heretofore practiſed. The hatred of the name of a Frenchman in Spain has been ſuch as the reality will by no means juſtify; and the deteſtation of the French government has, among the inferior orders, been carried to a pitch wholly unauthoriſed by its proceedings towards them. It is greatly to be feared, that the ſecurity afforded to property, and the excellent police introduced by the French,—that the abolition of the Inquiſition, the reſtriction of the monaſtic orders, and the encouragement of the ſecular clergy,—that the reforms already introduced into the collection of the revenues, and the abolition of the moſt galling monopolies, which the Spaniſh government blindly ſuffered to remain, but which, being equally uſeleſs to the ſtate and oppreſſive to the people, Buonaparte will moſt likely part with. It is to be feared that theſe and ſimilar changes are already beginning to work in the tyrant's favour; and that their immediate and ſenſible effects on the individual intereſts of men, will tend, if not to conciliate his new ſubjects, at leaſt to make them regret, much leſs bitterly, the government of the Bourbons and the Juntas. A few days after the inhabitants of Madrid had ſworn to bury themſelves under its ruins, we find them hating the French no doubt, but hating them in ſecret—working in their ſhops, and crowding the theatres.

The queſtion with reſpect to the ſouth of Spain, is therefore reduced to a very narrow compass. Have we any fair grounds for expecting, that the remains of the Spaniſh forces collected there, will reſiſt the French armies more effectually than they did, when their numbers were much greater, and their confidence more entire? The antient practice of aſcribing all the diſaſters of our allies to treachery, has no doubt been reſorted to, in order to explain what was ſufficiently intelligible, the defeat of raw troops under inexperienced leaders, by an enemy perfect in diſcipline and ſkill, and ſuperior even in numbers. But, granting that the Spaniards did wiſely in butchering their generals when they were beaten—that St Juan, ſo highly praiſed by Lord W. Bentinck, was a traitor as well as Socorro, Filangieri and others—have we any right to expect that all this diſloyalty ſhall ſtop ſhort at the Sierra Morena? And admitting, what is much more likely, that Caſtanos was defeated from his want of capacity—that the battle of Rio Seco was loſt by the jealouſies of Cueſta and Blake—is there any thing in the air of Andaluſia to brighten the intellects, or ſweeten the tempers of thoſe captains? Why ſhould every proſpect to the north of the Sierra be blaſted by treachery and cowardice—or chilled by feebleneſs and diſtraction—while the happy plains on the ſouth of that ridge, enjoy a perpetual ſunſhine of loyalty, genius and vigour?

We are afraid, then, that as often as the armies of the two nations

tions meet, the patriots will continue to be worſted; and that their numbers will fluctuate with the approach or the delay of active operations; increaſing a little if the enemy defers his attack; falling off as the ſeaſon of fighting draws near; diſperſing after the blow is ſtruck. Ignorant as we are of the amount of the French force in Spain, it is difficult for us to conjecture what will be the courſe of the enemy. But one of two things they moſt probably will do;—either they will puſh on from the north and from Eſtremadura, compelling us to evacuate Portugal; and at nearly the ſame time enter the ſouth of Spain from Valencia;—or, if they are not ſtrong enough at preſent for that purpoſe (which is by no means impoſſible), they will reſt where they are, and wait until the too probable iſſue of the campaign in Germany ſhall enable them to receive freſh ſupplies. In the mean time, our army is, as uſual, locked up in a place where it cannot be of the ſmalleſt uſe. If we attempt to attack the French, all their force is drawn to that point, at the riſk of ſome juntas riſing again in its rear; and, if they do not make an effort to drive us out of Portugal, it is only becauſe we are better there than anywhere elſe. We fear they will not leave us on the Tagus many days longer than ſuits their own purpoſes. Here, then, is juſt the old blunder over again. Our operations in Spain or in Portugal can make no diverſion in favour of Auſtria, unleſs we are ſtrong enough not only to maintain ourſelves, but to advance againſt the enemy. If we remain on the defenſive, whether in Liſbon or in Andaluſia, the defeat of Auſtria will enable the enemy to advance againſt both the Spaniards and ourſelves; to overpower them by fighting; and to overwhelm us with numbers. The defeat of France by Auſtria will indeed cauſe her to evacuate Spain, whether we are there or not. The policy which we ought to purſue, follows moſt clearly from this ſimple view of the ſubject. If there is ſuch a force of tolerably good troops in Andaluſia (ſay fifteen or twenty thouſand men), as, being united with our army from Sicily, could enable us to defeat the French in Valencia, while our army from Liſbon advanced into Eſtremadura;—if, in ſhort, we can ſtill advance againſt the French armies, and attack them with regular troops, we ſhall, for ſome months, be fighting a definite number of the enemy; and he cannot be reinforced, in caſe of defeat, without drawing ſupplies from the war in Germany. But, as the utmoſt ſucceſs that can be expected from this attempt, would only create a diverſion after the moſt critical part of the German campaign is over, it appears more reaſonable to think that a concentration of our whole diſpoſeable force might be made ſubſervient to the operations of the Auſtrians, with better effects both to their cauſe and the cauſe of the Spaniards, always ſuppoſing that there

is ſuch a fair proſpect of Auſtria making a ſtand in the preſent war, as renders it poſſible for any aid to ſave her. If, however, as ſeems but too probable, the war is of the enemy's chuſing—if he has purſued his uſual policy of anticipating a blow which he ſaw preparing—if he has fallen upon Auſtria with the full concurrence of Ruſſia—or even if he has attacked her, from ſome apprehenſion of a change in the politics of St Peterſburgh, which change will beſt be prevented by the ſuddenneſs of the attack—we may reſt aſſured, that no effort of ours can *now* ward off the fate of our antient ally, and that the completion of the Spaniſh campaign will only be interrupted for a ſeaſon by a ſeries of victories on the Danube.

In this hopeleſs ſtate of affairs, the reſult of our rupture with Spain, and our alliance with Ruſſia in 1805; the legitimate conſequences of the dollar war, and the third coalition; what remains for England to do? She has ſacrificed largely—generouſly, if not wiſely, to the defence of others. It is time to think in good earneſt of her own; not, indeed, by making war upon trade, or by taking Weſt India iſlands, but by drawing cloſer and cloſer the bonds of natural union which knit her with every people whom the ſea divides from France; and by attacking, while the war in Germany and Spain has drawn off all the troops from the French coaſt, every arſenal in the enemy's hands which the combined operations of our fleets and armies can deſtroy. In accompliſhing theſe right Britiſh objects, we ſhall be alſo doing all that remains in our power to aſſiſt our Spaniſh allies. We ſhall ſave their South American empire for their place of refuge; and cheriſh for them the means of maritime power; of becoming members of that naval confederacy, of which England is the natural head; and which, until happier times ariſe on the Continent, is the only obſtacle between France and univerſal empire. *

QUAR-

* The topics here lightly touched, muſt be the ſubject of a future diſcuſſion. We rejoice that the abolition of the Orders in Council has paved the way for a cordial reconciliation with America, and thus facilitated the formation of a great maritime alliance: and ſeverely as we have been compelled to blame the conduct of our Spaniſh campaign, we are proud to think, as Britons, both that it has ſhown the valour and diſcipline of our troops in a favourable point of view to all Europe, and afforded, to ſo large and efficient a part of our army, a ſeries of practical leſſons, of which the value muſt be incalculable.

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